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IDEAS ABOUT INDIA

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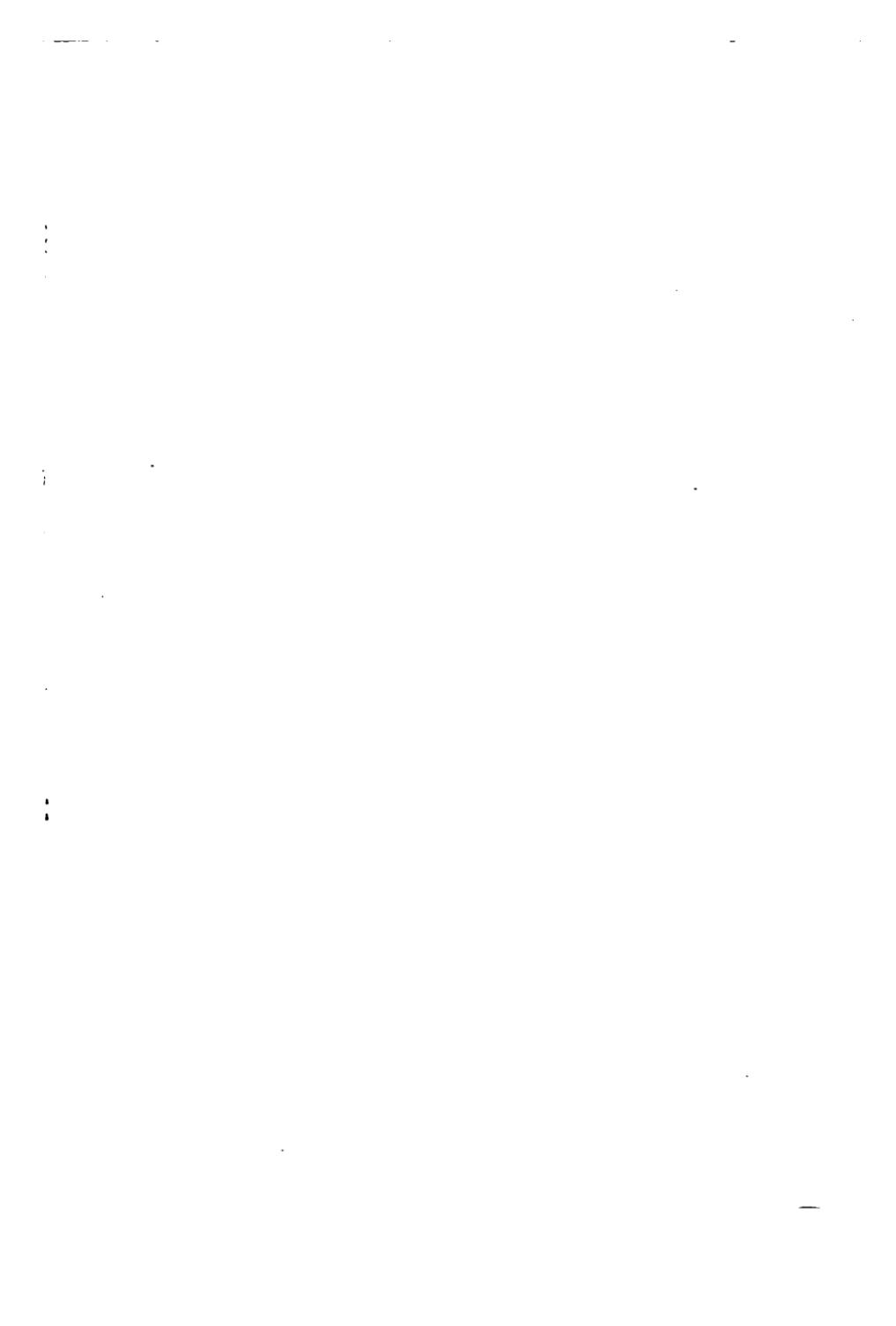


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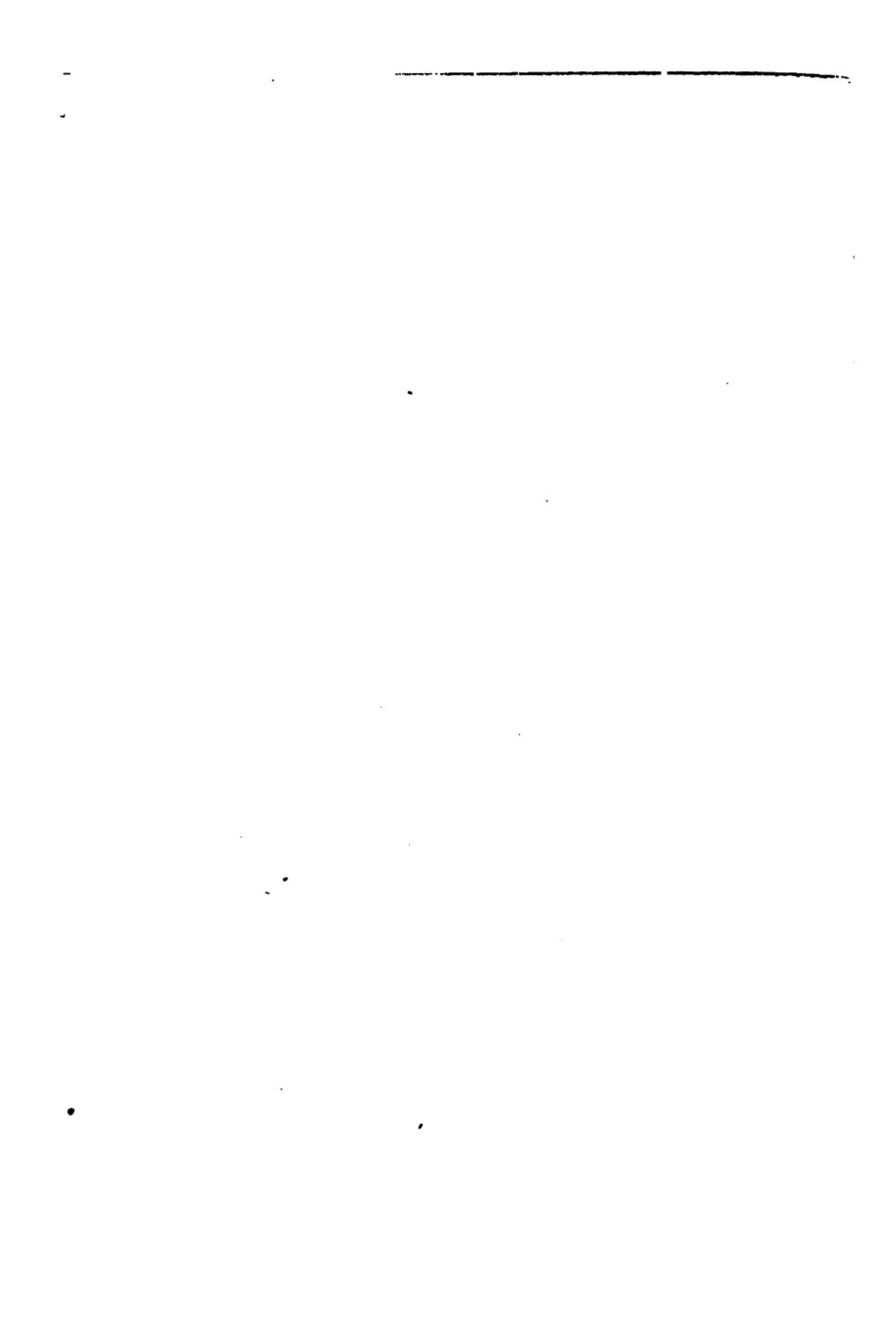
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INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS.





IDEAS ABOUT INDIA

BY

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT

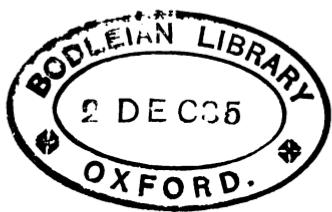
"Our title to be in India depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations; and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."—GLADSTONE, 1877

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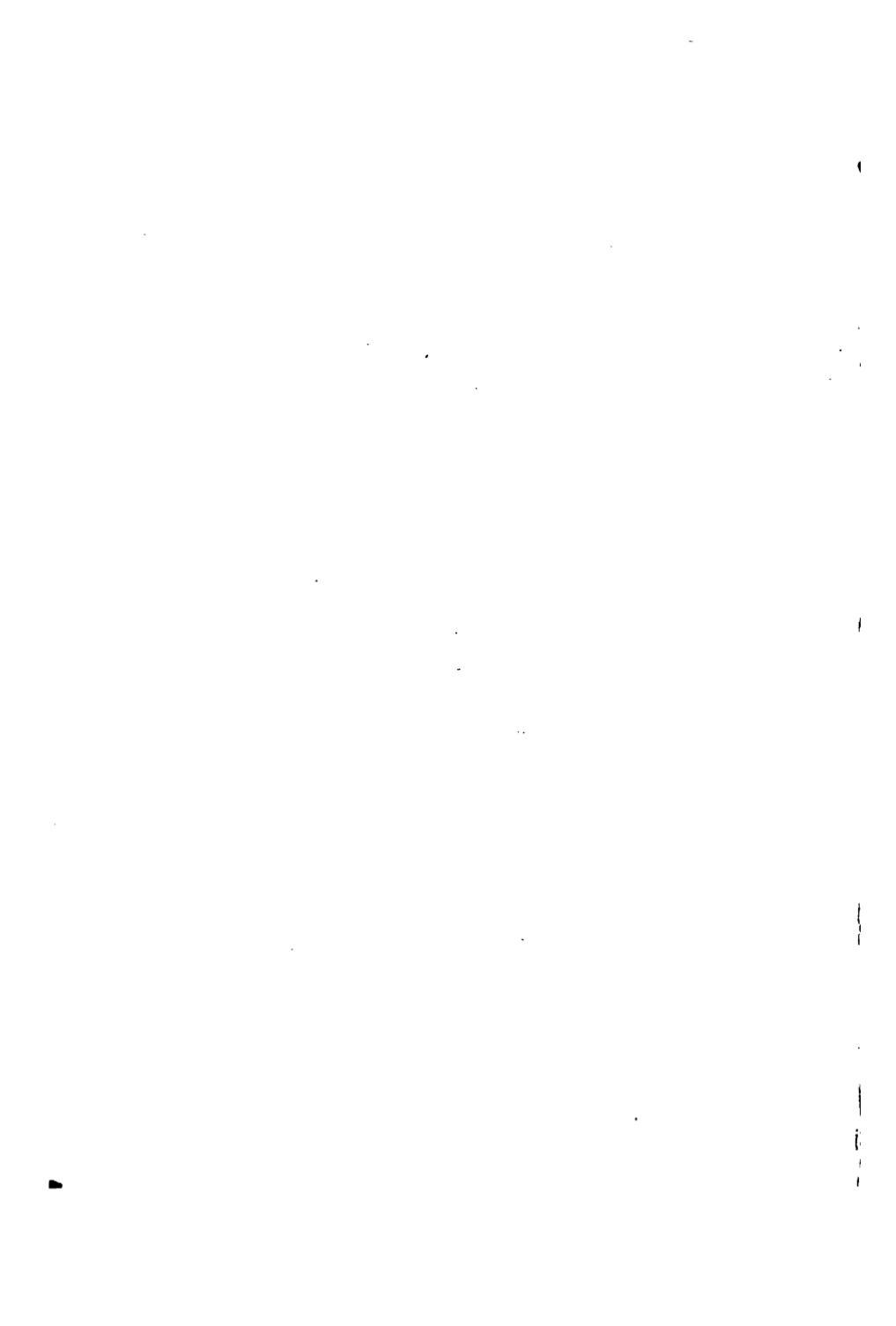
LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL,

IN MEMORY

OF HIS INTERVENTION AT BENARES IN FAVOUR OF THE

WATER-CARRIERS

IMPRESSED FOR THE SOUDAN WAR.



INTRODUCTION.

WHEN these Essays appeared last autumn in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review* (with whose permission they are now reprinted), they attracted in India no little or unacrimonious controversy. The Anglo-Indian agitation against Lord Ripon was then at its height, and most of the local newspapers written for English consumption recognized in them a defence of his, with them, unpopular policy and a counter-attack made upon Anglo-Indian vested interests. They were indeed, I think, the first complete and fearless apology of Indian home rule which had been published; and they were accordingly, with one or two kindly exceptions, torn to pieces by the English editors of Calcutta, Bombay, and the rest of the great towns. The native press, on the other hand, as loudly approved them, and supported with generous warmth the position taken by their

author. In the defence, as in the attack, I recognize the highest tribute which could be paid to their merit as an accurate representation of native griefs and native aspirations. As such I give them now once more in a collected form to the public.

Nor need I, I am sure, do so any longer apologetically. Events in the last twelve months have proved, and more than proved, that Lord Ripon's policy, defective as it may have been in detail, was true in principle ; and nothing is more certain now than that whatever party may succeed to power in England, the doctrine of "India for the Indians and by the Indians," is the only one which for the future, as regards India, will direct their counsels. Reform may advance slower or it may advance faster, but advance it will, and in the direction of home rule. Anglo-Indian interests will in vain protest ; they will not again be listened to in their prayer for a return to ancient ways.

Neither do I look upon the recent change of Government we have witnessed at home as otherwise than a distinct gain to India. With the final disappearance of the ancient Whig ascendancy, bureaucratic ideas will have lost their firmest supporters ; and Tory democracy no less than Radical democracy will of necessity take the

Indian people into its confidence. We shall see no more Indian Secretaries of the Kimberley type, men dependent wholly on the officials for their knowledge of Indian things. Lord Ripon proved what great results a personal understanding of native wishes could effect of advantage to a Viceroy. Lord Randolph Churchill may well show its advantage to a Secretary of State. Nor will their example fail to be followed by their successors. As years go by, it will become less and less possible for an English Cabinet to err through ignorance; and, the truth once fairly known at Westminster, we may all have great confidence in its practical effect on the administrative counsels at Calcutta.

Thus, I am prepared to take a more hopeful view of Indian reform to-day than I dared indulge in a year ago. On the other hand, the year that has elapsed has taught us that there are dangers more nearly threatening the English Empire, and with it India, than we altogether suspected. The very causes which are making reform certain in India are placing the whole fabric of strength on which the Empire rests in jeopardy, and it is patent that India's peril from without has been largely increased by recent organic changes at home and

the disclosure of imperial weakness which has attended them abroad. It cannot be too constantly borne in mind that democratized England, if it be not rapidly educated to a sense of its danger abroad, is threatened every year more certainly with disruption—not as a kingdom, for democracy is fully compatible with national prosperity, but as an empire. Empires, in the history of the world, have never long survived the institutions which founded them ; and the government of an empire by uneducated popular opinion is an experiment absolutely novel in Europe as in Asia. The tendency of such a government will be to discard policy—the tradition of conduct handed down from age to age—and to follow sentiment rather than principle in its acts of initiative. This in England itself may not be a great danger—inasmuch as popular opinion is usually well informed on domestic matters under the eye of every one, and may be trusted not to err too widely ; nor have I less than a firm confidence in the English people as the best manager of its own affairs. But with affairs abroad it is different. Here we have had a foretaste already in the last three years of the ignorance prevailing with the mass of men, and of the extravagances of conduct to which a

government without fixed principle and ruled by the breath of opinion is liable.

Without a foreign policy, a kingdom, a republic, a homogeneous State of any kind can live—but hardly an empire; and it is difficult to feel confidence in the continuous wisdom on imperial matters of those who are now their own and England's masters. The Radicals already avow their readiness to abdicate England's authority beyond the seas, and it is certain that "insular" politics will with them become yearly more and more the only ones of interest. Of this the great military States of Europe will infallibly take advantage. India, therefore, stands in this danger—that, in the evolution of our party strifes, she may find herself one day, and before she has worked out her salvation, abandoned by the Power which now protects her. Should any disaster happen to the English arms abroad, such as should seriously cripple her strength, the natives of Hindostan may well be placed in the plight of the ancient Britons when Rome recalled her legions. She would be exposed to the common danger of Asia, the incursion of new masters from the North or from beyond the seas, a danger which she must pray a kindly Providence to avert

until the day when she is prepared to stand alone. The peril should spur her to new exertions, and for this purpose I call special attention to it.

With regard to another matter, a matter personal to myself, I may in this preface also be allowed to say a few words. Among the critics of my writings on India, some have been found who, not content with refuting my arguments in a legitimate sense—or perhaps in despair of being able so to refute them—have attacked me personally as a wanton disturber of their peace, a politician who, having quarrelled, they say, with his country at home, visited India, not with the purpose of honest inquiry into existing griefs, but of raising new ones and exposing England's shame. To this charge I feel bound to make some reply, for it has been preferred amongst others by a high Anglo-Indian official; and, though in England no one will have been much concerned to inquire into its truth, seeing that I am well known and that Anglo-Indian authority carries little weight, it may be that in India those who do not know me personally, and are unaware of my political views and antecedents, may have given it more attention than it deserved.

My political history, since it needs describing, is briefly this: a country squire in England, with Conservative traditions and a sufficient independent fortune, I spent twelve years of my early life in the diplomatic service abroad, where, without in any special way distinguishing myself, I acquired many friends, whom I still retain, in the official world, and I hope such a character as has deserved their esteem. I never had the smallest quarrel with the Foreign Office during my connection with it, and I left the public service on my marriage in 1869, on wholly private grounds. I am, therefore, not in the category of "men with a grievance," or who may need to revenge themselves on officialism for official wrongs.

On the contrary, my relations with the permanent officials of the Foreign and other offices in London has, notwithstanding my political quarrel with Mr. Gladstone's Government about Egypt, always been cordial; nor even with the members of that Government themselves have I ever been on personally unfriendly terms. My interference in Egypt caused Lord Granville at one time much annoyance; but I think that he would not deny now that events have justified me. I saw his agents in Egypt pursuing a policy unjust,

unwise, and dangerous, and I gave him timely warning; and when he disregarded my warning I appealed to Parliament and the public to prevent a war which had become imminent. Not to have taken every means in my power to avert so great a calamity as the Egyptian invasion would have been itself a crime—and every member of the late Government perfectly understands this. To say, therefore, that my quarrel with the official world at home has caused me to denounce officialism in India, is to do me singular injustice. My experience of official ways in Egypt certainly put me on the track of abuses further East, but it did not warp my judgment—still less prompt my revenge. Cairo diplomacy prepared me for the diplomacy of Hyderabad as the agricultural miseries of the Delta prepared me for the agricultural miseries of the Deccan; but my action in regard to the first did not determine my action with regard to the second. In both instances I interfered to prevent a wrong; and I am glad that I did so. But I had no other motive.

As a matter of chronology, too, since the point has been raised, it may be worth while explaining to those who see, in my "Ideas about India," the effect of a personal disappointment about Egypt,

that they were conceived in all their main features, and far more strongly expressed by me, several years before Egypt became an interest in my life. My first visit to India was in 1879, and it was then, while Lord Lytton's guest at Peterhof, and living not with the native Indians, but in the daily society of the highest Anglo-Indian officials, the Stracheys, the Battens, and the Lyalls, that I first conceived the thought that India was selfishly and unwisely governed. I have fortunately lit upon letters I then wrote to my political friends which I will take the liberty of quoting in extract, not for their merit, for they are too exaggerated and careless in expression to be of any intrinsic value, but because they will show that when, five years later, I wrote the Essays contained in this volume, it was not Egypt which inspired me, nor tales of native discontent, but thoughts long before implanted by a general survey of Eastern miseries.

"I am disappointed," I wrote from Simla in April, 1879, "with India, which seems to me just as ill-governed as the rest (of Asia), only with good intentions instead of bad ones, or none at all. There is just the same heavy taxation, government by foreign officials, and waste of money one sees in Turkey. Only let us hope the officials

are fools instead of knaves. The result is the same, and I don't see much difference between making the starving Hindoos pay for a cathedral at Calcutta, and taxing Bulgarians for a palace on the Bosphorus. Want eats up all these great empires in their centralized governments ; and the only way to make them prosper would be to split them up and let the pieces govern themselves as they could."

And again to a Radical friend : "The 'natives,' as they call them, are a race of slaves, frightened, unhappy, and terribly thin. Though a good Conservative and a member of the Carlton Club, I own to being shocked at the Egyptian bondage in which they are held, and my faith in British institutions and the blessings of British rule have received a severe blow. I have been studying the mysteries of Indian finance under 'the best masters,' Government Secretaries, Commissioners, and the rest, and have come to the conclusion that if we go on 'developing' the country at its present rate, the inhabitants will have, sooner or later, to resort to cannibalism, for there will be nothing but each other left them to eat. I do not clearly understand why we English take their money from these starving Hindoos to make railroads for them;

which they don't want, and turnpike roads, and jails, and lunatic asylums, and memorial buildings to Sir Bartle Frere ; or why we insist upon their feeding out of their wretched handfuls of rice, immense armies of policemen and magistrates and engineers. They want none of these things, and they want their rice very badly, as anybody can see by looking at their ribs. As to the debt they have been saddled with, I think it would be honester to repudiate it, at least as a debt on *India*. I never could see the moral obligation governments acknowledge of taxing people for debts they, and not the people, have incurred. All public debts, even in a self-governing country, are more or less dishonest, but in a despotism like India they are a mere swindle. These I beg you to believe are my own views, not at all those of the officials on whose information I have based them. The latter are, of course, perfectly satisfied with the solvency and prosperity of the country. Lytton, I find, has more enlightened views on all these matters than his councillors ; but officialism in India is a web in which the wisest may find himself entangled. 'India,' as a wag said the other day, 'is a despotism of office-boxes tempered by the occasional loss of keys ;'

and every official in the country is interested in keeping things as they are. . . . Nobody in England knows anything about these things. Take a hint, therefore, and ventilate freely the doctrine of repudiating public debts as an idea of the future for Radical finance. I am convinced it is a sound one."

And again: "I believe the natives capable of governing themselves far better than we can do it, and at about a tenth part of the expense. What strikes one from the moment one lands in India, is the ridiculous overhousing of the officials, and the enormous number of public buildings—churches, barracks, and government offices—kept up for their amusement. It is like having a Scotch gardener, with a cottage and three assistants, to look after ten acres of potatoes. For my part, I disbelieve altogether in European methods of improving the East, whether Egypt, or Turkey, or India. Railways and canals and tramways are profitable in England, but here they are a dead loss. It is no use putting six-foot drains into a sandy soil; and India is wretchedly light. . . . Such are my first impressions."

These letters, though of no other value, prove, as I have said, that at least it was not the chagrin

of my failure three years later to prevent the war in Egypt, that suggested to me my first "Ideas about India." Nor were the circumstances of my second visit to that country such as they have been represented to be. I undertook the journey neither in secrecy nor with a purpose of sedition; but, on the contrary, with the full knowledge of the Downing Street authorities, and after an explanation there of my views. I do not say that there was no question raised at the India Office with regard to my journey. My motives were, I believe, discussed there, and certain newspapers under Anglo-Indian inspiration hinted that there might be danger to the State in my travelling as I intended; but the doubt was not entertained at head-quarters, and my views and objects were rightly understood to be those of inquiry and a patriotic desire to arrive at a knowledge of Indian facts.

So too in India itself. Though regarded with suspicion as a possibly too candid critic by some of the permanent officials, and attacked by the semi-official press, I everywhere received the countenance of the supreme imperial authorities. Mr. Grant Duff, Sir James Fergusson, and Sir Alfred

Lyall, governors of the chief provinces I visited, received me with all the courtesy habitually shewn to English travellers, and discussed unreservedly with me the chief problems of their governments. Nothing could have been kinder than the two latter proved themselves to be, and nothing less distrustful. They perfectly understood the motive of my desire to see things in India from a different point of view from their own, and they gave me full latitude in my dealings with the natives while staying in their houses. Sir Alfred Lyall especially was my friend. To him I owe the advantage I enjoyed of being able to hold large public meetings among the Mohammedans of the North-West Provinces, and of speaking freely to audiences of five hundred and a thousand persons in the various towns. Had I been really teaching sedition, it is incredible that he should have permitted this; but in point of fact, he encouraged and defended me. I have his leave to publish a letter he wrote to me at the time in reference to attacks made on me by the *Pioneer* newspaper soon after I had left his house.

“The foolish and violent article about you,” he writes, on January the 16th, “in the *Pioneer* of this morning, moves one’s indignation for more

reasons than one. These attacks all emanate, to my knowledge, from Calcutta. I have hitherto written nothing whatever to officials in these provinces regarding your movements, as I believed you would prefer this. But I shall now send word to Allygarh, and to the Commissioner of Rohilcund, who is in political charge of Rampore, that it would be a total mistake to suppose that in these provinces the Government takes any sinister view of your proceedings. I am taking every opportunity of declaring that I know you have no intention whatever of propagating disloyalty."

Lastly, Lord Ripon himself gave me his full countenance, and, strangely enough, precisely on those two points—my action at Patna and my action at Hyderabad—which have been most unsparingly called in question. The Patna incident I laid immediately on its occurrence before him, and, were it necessary to rake up the details of so old an incident of discredit to official India, I could publish the correspondence which passed between us on the subject. Suffice it to say, Lord Ripon approved my action. In the matter of Hyderabad also I acted with his knowledge and approval, and I have the satisfaction of thinking that if the Hyderabad State was in the spring of

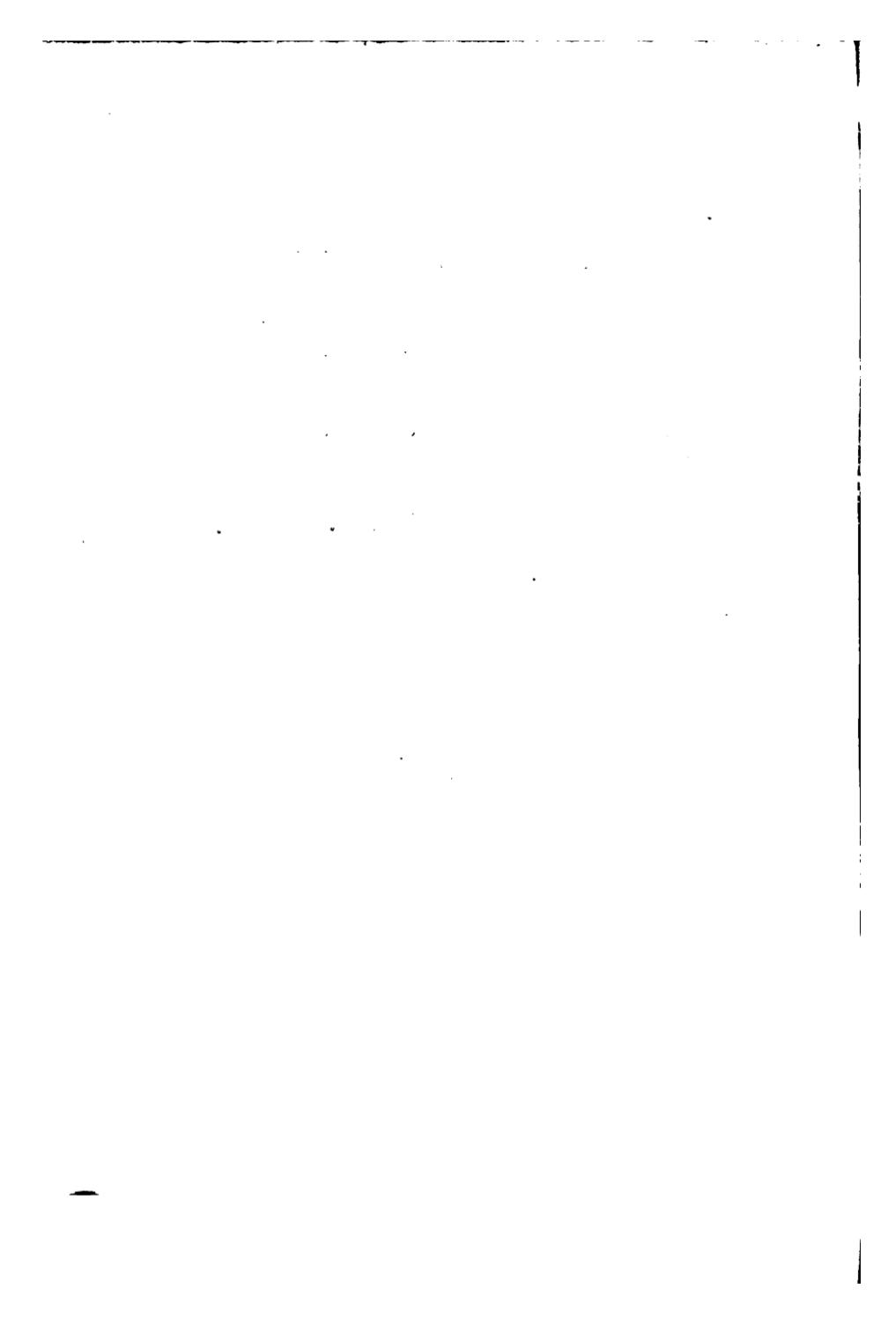
1884 saved from ruin, it was due in some part to my timely intervention. I believe no patriotic Englishman, placed in the circumstances in which I found myself, would have acted otherwise than I did on that occasion. By accidental circumstances, I found myself in possession of the secrets of an intrigue which threatened the ruin of a native State; and I laid the facts of the case without hesitation before the Viceroy. Lord Ripon listened, examined into, and in the end dealt with the case as it deserved. He approved of my return to Hyderabad for the Nizam's installation, supported me while there with the Resident, and consulted me on more than one detail of the final arrangements made by him. If, therefore, I be condemned for what I did in connection with that incident, the Viceroy himself stands condemned. But in truth the event has proved abundantly that the reversal of the Foreign Office policy was the only course which could with prudence have been followed by Lord Ripon.

The engraving opposite the title page of this volume is from a photograph which records the concluding scene of the festivities which graced the Nizam's installation, and one of the most satisfactory episodes of my Indian journey—I

may say of my life—when, the political battle won, and the public fêtes over, the Nizam invited us with the Viceroy and the Resident to a private pleasure party on the Mir Alum Lake. The group is not without its humour to those who understand it, but I need not put all the dots upon the I's.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

CRABBET PARK,
September, 1885.



IDEAS ABOUT INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE AGRICULTURAL DANGER.

“Famine is the horizon of the Indian villager. Insufficient food is the foreground.”

HAVING visited India during the past winter under circumstances quite exceptional for an Englishman, I propose while they are fresh in my mind to record the impressions left on me by my journey, and to state briefly my opinions with regard to the various political questions now being agitated by the Indian and the Anglo-Indian press. India is without doubt becoming the great question of the day; and although for a moment the lesser one of Egypt stands more prominently in the political foreground, it is by far the most important which Englishmen will have to solve in the present generation. For good or for evil our fate as an empire is bound up with that of the Indian people,

and we have duties to perform towards them and precautions to take which, if we neglect them, will involve us in complete Imperial ruin. The tendency of the present day is to procrastinate in politics, but the lesson of Egypt may well have taught us something, and my object in these pages will be to convey a warning of evils now ignored but growing every day greater, and which may at a given moment assume proportions far beyond the power of any Government which may be in office to deal with or assuage.

With regard to the field of my observations, I may explain that, commencing with the island of Ceylon, I worked my way first through Southern India. Ceylon itself, though out of the administrative system of the Peninsula, I found a most interesting study, as showing the lines on which Indian progress may be expected to advance; and viewed in the light of it I was better able to appreciate the vices of administration I afterwards observed. Ceylon is a crown colony, and its form of government stands about half-way between the night of the present Indian system and the full day of our true colonies. It enjoys a twilight of liberty which I hardly appreciated while I was there, it seemed so little, but which I could hardly

believe in afterwards, it seemed so much. Crossing the Straits, I found myself at once in another atmosphere and under another rule. Although Southern Madras has been at peace under English administration for a hundred years, I found everywhere distrust of the Government, fear of the officials, and a certain vague disquiet which is an unmistakable sign with nations that all is not well. I heard from every mouth complaints of the overwhelming poverty of the poor, of the ever-increasing burden of taxation, and the ever-increasing selfishness of those charged with the expenditure.

I passed next through the famine districts of the Presidency. There I was able, imperfectly indeed, but still to some purpose, to test the accuracy of what I had learned in the towns as to the condition of the Deccan ryot,* and to form some conception of his agricultural needs and fiscal grievances. It may be thought that this would be impossible for a stranger passing rapidly through an enormous district, but I did not find it absolutely so. Land tenure in Asia is all much on the same plan, and India forms no exception ; and to one who

* I use the term "Deccan" in its broader and, I believe, original sense of the South Country, not as it is sometimes applied to the dominion of the Nizam only.

has travelled through the Ottoman empire with observant eyes, the burdens laid upon the Indian peasantry are very apparent. My plan was to visit a few villages wherever I made a halt, and put a certain series of questions to whatever intelligent cultivator chance might direct me to. It may be said that I did not hear the truth, inasmuch as I did not know the various vernaculars, and inasmuch as all Orientals seek to please, and it might have been my pleasure to hear the worst. But I guarded against this by taking a local interpreter in each new place, who could not have been in collusion with the last, and who, if he suspected my sympathy with the ryot, was unable to warn him of the special answers I had before received. Nor will any one, I think, maintain that the same stories on the same subjects could have been constantly told me in villages remote from each other, unless those stories had been true. I was able thus to compare the accounts received and contrast the peasant of the Deccan, who is the poorest in India, with the peasants of Bengal and other more favoured districts, till I feel satisfied that I have a fair general knowledge of the subject—far, of course, from complete, yet infinitely more real than could be acquired at home by any amount of study or

inquiry. Also I am prepared to challenge further examination on this point of the agricultural distress, being convinced that my conclusions would be come to by any other independent traveller adopting the same impartial method of judging. Official information, it may be, contradicts me. But I am strong in the testimony of the people themselves.

At Calcutta, which I reached just at the moment of the extreme agitation regarding the Ilbert Bill, I found myself in the centre of the political arena, where the most advanced doctrines in the direction of self-government were being debated. For reasons which I need hardly allude to, I was admitted at once into the confidence of all, and became acquainted in a few weeks with what the majority of our civilian officers spend their lives in only half suspecting. It was the time of the opening of the Exhibition, and all India was gathered to the metropolis, and little that was interesting in the way of talent, or position, or notoriety in native society failed to make my acquaintance as that of a person sympathizing with Eastern ideas and desirous of their good. It has been constantly pretended by English writers that it is only what are called the "Babus" of Calcutta who are sufficiently educated to have advanced ideas on the political regenera-

tion of their country ; but nothing is less true. The Calcutta politicians stand, indeed, in the foreground of English vision because they are of Calcutta—that is to say, of the most English city of India—and because they have a more general knowledge of the English language. But the Mahrattas and Parsis of Bombay are at least their equals, and in point of vigorous thought and true statesman-like intelligence I found no one at Calcutta to equal the leading Brahmins of Madras ; while, among the Mohammedans, the North-West Provinces are far ahead of Bengal proper in independence of ideas and political courage. Calcutta, however, like London, is the chief centre of debate, and it is around the Viceroy in council that the battle rages loudest. At the time of my visit an embryo Parliament was holding its sittings, at which men from all parts of India were assembled, and all the great questions of the day were being debated ; and I found the intelligence and abilities of those who took part in the debates very fairly distributed. I had the honour of being present at the whole of these sittings, being the only European thus distinguished ; and though it is true that Bengal was unduly represented in the meetings, it was hardly more exclusively so than would have been the case

in Europe with any city which should have been chosen as the scene of an international assemblage. The growth of political intelligence in India is far indeed from being confined to the Hindu lawyers of Bengal.

In North-Western India, through which I next travelled, I studied almost exclusively the Mohammedan phase of the Indian question. I was asked to give a series of lectures on their education, and did so, thus becoming intimately acquainted with Mohammedan wants and troubles and aspirations. It is a mistake to suppose that there is as yet any irreconcilable breach between the Mohammedans of Hindostan and her Majesty's Government. To say that they are disaffected towards us is, of course, true, inasmuch as it is true also, in the literal sense of the word, of every section of the native community. There is no love whatever lost between the Indians and ourselves, whether they be Mohammedan, or Hindu, or Parsi, or native Christian. We do nothing to gain their affection, and they waste none on us. But in some ways the Mohammedans are less hostile to the existing order of things than the others are. They suffer on some points less, and they are certainly less inclined in the abstract to revolutionary doctrines. A stricter

regard to their rights and a little more genuine sympathy with Islam abroad might make them actively loyal to the Crown ; and it is only in the last few years that they have begun to share the general distrust with which our Government is now justly regarded in Islam. I went through most of the great cities specially Mohammedan, and my only serious omissions were in the Punjab.

Finally I spent a few weeks in the independent State of Hyderabad, where I was able in some sort to compare native with English rule, and where I had the privilege of being behind the scenes in one of the most astonishing dramas of State intrigue modern times have witnessed. This taught me much of the relations existing between the Imperial and the feudatory Governments ; and though I do not propose here to detail them, my knowledge of them gives me confidence in stating certain of my opinions. Scindia's and Holkar's territories I had no time to visit, and except from a flying passage through the Rajputana principalities, I gained no further experience in this direction. But the virtues and vices of Oriental rule I have seen displayed in other countries, and the principal object of my journey this year was a study not of these but of British rule in India. At

the end of five months I sailed once more for England from Bombay.

These, then, are my titles to be heard upon the Indian question—imperfect ones perhaps, yet in the dearth of independent knowledge surely of value. My experience has been that of a tourist, but I have returned satisfied that it is quite possible to see and hear and understand all that vitally concerns our rule in India in six months' time; and it is my belief that a traveller, with an open and sympathetic mind travelling without official recommendation, has a better chance of really arriving at the truth in the short space of a single winter, than most public servants have in the whole of their official career. In India, as elsewhere in the East, official position is a bar to knowledge; and official protection is a perpetual hindrance. I was careful to avoid Government houses and Collectors' bungalows wherever possible, but I did not always succeed, and whenever I crossed a hospitable European threshold I was reminded at once of those entertainments given by Pashas and Mudirs which I had so often enjoyed in other lands. Once under the official roof, a veil of suspicion seemed to divide me from the people; and it was strange to meet again, almost in the

position of servants, honourable native gentlemen one had met some hours perhaps before as equals and as friends. Yet such is the painful unreality of social intercourse between the governing class and the governed, and such in consequence their ignorance of each others' thoughts.

The results of my experience I propose to condense and arrange under the following heads :

1. The agricultural danger with which the unsound finance of India is intimately connected.
2. Race hatred, which shall include a survey of the principal questions now agitated in the towns of India ; and 3. The position of the Mohammedans—a matter little understood, but whose importance at the present moment it would be difficult to exaggerate. Under these three heads I believe it will be possible for me to include all that I have to say both of warning and of suggestion : of warning, because I have no doubt whatever that if things continue in their present groove a revolution is the necessary end ; of suggestion, inasmuch as I have equally little doubt that by timely reform that catastrophe may be averted.

I believe it to be an axiom in politics that all

social convulsions have been preceded by a period of growing misery for the agricultural poor, combined with the growing intelligence of the urban populations. Certainly this was the case in Europe at the time of the Reformation, and again, following the lead of France, in the last century; and, most certainly and immediately under our own observation, it has been the case in Ireland and in Egypt at the present day. Where there is complete ignorance, misery may be accumulated almost without limit by a despotic power. Where the mass of the population is prosperous, no growth of knowledge need be feared. But it is at the point where education and starvation meet that the flame breaks forth. This is a truism. Yet there are few who recognize how absolutely true it is of India.

No one accustomed to Eastern travel can fail to see how poor the Indian peasant is. Travelling by either of the great lines of railway which bisect the Continent, one need hardly leave one's carriage to be aware of this. From Madras to Bombay, and from Bombay again to the Ganges valley, distances by rail of seven hundred and eight hundred miles, one passes not half a dozen towns, nor a single village which has a prosperous look.

The fields, considering the general lightness of the soil, are not ill-cultivated ; but there is much waste land ; and in the scattered villages there is an entire absence of well-built houses, enclosed gardens, or large groves of fruit trees, the signs of individual wealth which may be found in nearly every other Oriental country. The houses are poorer than in Asia Minor or Syria, or even Egypt, and are uniform in their poverty. There are no residences of any wealthier class than the poorest, and the little congregations of mud huts are without redeeming feature in the shape of stone-built mansion or whitewashed dwelling at all superior to the rest. Such exceptions one finds in every province of the Ottoman Empire, except perhaps in Irak, and one finds them in Persia. But throughout the great central plateau of the Indian peninsula, they are wholly absent.

Nor is the aspect of poverty less startling if one looks closer. Entering a Deccan village one is confronted with peasants nearly naked, and if one asks for the head man, one finds him no better clothed than the rest. The huts are bare of furniture ; the copper pots are rare ; the women are without ornaments. These are the common signs of indigence in the East ; and here they are

universal. Questioning the peasants, one ascertains not only that they do not eat meat, for this is often against their religious custom, but also that they eat rice itself only on holidays. Their ordinary food is millet mixed with salt and water, and flavoured with red peppers; and of this they partake only sufficient to support life. Of luxuries other than the red peppers they seem wholly destitute.

In every village which I visited of the British Deccan I heard complaints of poverty resembling most closely those to which I was accustomed in Syria and Egypt—complaints of over-taxation of the country, of increase and inequalities of assessment, of the tyranny of local overseers (not necessarily Englishmen) charged with levying the rates, complaints of the forest laws, of the decrease of the stock of working cattle, of their deterioration through the price of salt, of universal debt to the usurers. The only complaints conspicuous from their absence were those relating to insecurity of life and to conscription, the two great evils of Western Asia. And I will say at once before I go further that immunity on these heads goes far in my opinion towards counterbalancing the miseries which our rule would otherwise seem

to have aggravated in the condition of the Indian ryot.

The special evils which we have imposed upon him are, however, only too apparent. In former days, though his land assessment or rent was very likely as high as now, it was mitigated for him by custom and by certain privileges which our system of administration has deprived him of. In bad seasons when his crop was poor he enjoyed remissions which are very seldom granted now. The lord of the land to whom he paid his rent lived within reach of him, and in days of distress might be cajoled into pity or possibly frightened into moderation. But the landlord now is a formless thing—the Government—which no tears can reach, no menace turn away. It is represented only by a succession of changing agents, strangers to the country, ignorant of the people and their wants, and whose names the ryots rarely learn to know. This is a constant complaint in their mouths, and the condition of British India under the modern system is a striking instance of the evils of absentee ownership. For the last hundred years it has been the constant aim of the Madras Government to destroy all ownership in land but its own, and it has so far succeeded that it stands now alone

throughout the greater portion of the Presidency face to face with the peasantry. If these were happy the result might be good. But in their actual circumstances of chronic starvation it seems to me a very dangerous one.

With regard to the actual amount of the assessment, I made what inquiries I was able, endeavouring, so far as possible, to ascertain what proportion it bore to the gross value of the crop, and, although I state it with all due diffidence, I think I am not wrong in putting it at 35 to 40 per cent. for the Deccan district. It may well be considerably more, but I think it can hardly be less. In any case, I feel quite certain that Dr. Hunter's figures in his book (which, be it remembered, is the accepted handbook about India) are enormously wrong, where, quoting the Famine Commission, he states that "the land tax throughout British India is from 3 per cent. to 7 per cent. on the gross out-turn." Seven per cent. would of course be a very light rent in any country, but 40 per cent. would be inordinately high, and I am quite sure that impartial inquiry would prove that, in the Deccan at least, my own figures are far more nearly correct. In Bengal, I know there are lands assessed as low as 1 per cent.; but Bengal is a

prosperous country, nearly the only one in India, and is precisely the exception which best proves the general rule by exemplifying the causes of agricultural poverty.

It is, however, not merely the amount of the assessment which weighs upon these Deccan ryots, not merely the inelasticity of its collection. If the natives themselves are to be believed, there are other causes of poverty directly due to the British connection which have had a far more disastrous effect upon the prosperity of the country than any taxation has produced. The reason, these say, why the ryot of the present day is poorer than his predecessor of fifty years ago is this. Under the ancient system of native rule, and during the early days of the Company, the agricultural population was not wholly dependent on agriculture. It had certain home industries which employed its leisure during those seasons of the year when labour in the fields was useless. There was the carrying trade which could be engaged in with the bullocks used at other times for ploughing. There was peddling of ghee and other home-made wares; and above all there was the weaving industry, which employed the women, and the men too during their idle time, and helped them to pay.

their rent. But modern improvements and modern legislation have altered all this. The railroads have very much destroyed the carrying trade; native industries have been supplanted by foreign ones, and the introduction of machinery and of foreign cottons has broken up every hand-loom in the country. The ryot, therefore, is reduced to the simple labour of his fields, and this does not suffice him any longer to live and to pay his assessment—therefore he starves. This account of the matter has been very ably set before the English public by Sir William Wedderburn, and I do not propose to argue it out here. But I can testify that it is the account also given by the natives themselves, and that I have no doubt that it is strictly true.

The official account is different. According to apologists of the Strachey school, over-population caused by the security of our rule is the sufficient reason of all distress, and it is possible that this may be correct of Bengal and other districts enjoying more prosperous conditions than those of which I am now speaking. But as applied to the Deccan it is manifestly untrue. For nothing like the whole area of cultivable land is taken up, and the population is scanty rather than

excessive. The causes of distress and famine must be looked for rather in the growing impoverishment of the existing population, than in its numerical excess—in its enforced idleness during part of the year, and in the disappearance of the whole class of large proprietors who in former times used to lay up stores of grain to keep their peasantry alive in the droughts. It is my opinion, in common with that of the most intelligent native economists, that a permanent settlement of the revenue, such as there is in Bengal, would do more by the creation of a wealthy class of land-owners in the Deccan, towards mitigating the periodical famines there, than any other form of legislation could, or the covering of the country with a whole network of railroads. But of this later.

Other modern grievances of the peasant are, first, the new Forest Laws. These were introduced some years ago in consequence of the growing famines which, it was argued, were caused by the irregularity of the monsoon rains, which in their turn were caused by the denudation of the forests. Admitting as true all that can be said of the necessity of strong measures to prevent destruction in these, and to increase the area of vegetation,

the *modus operandi* seems to have been needlessly violent, and most injurious to the people. One would have supposed that so wide an object as the regulation of the rainfall would have been provided for out of Imperial funds. But this was only done in part. The bulk of the loss fell on individual peasants. Wherever I went in the Madras and Bombay presidencies I heard of common lands enclosed and rights of pasture withdrawn, and this without any compensation at all being given to the possessors. The plea seems to have been that, in the days of the Mohammedan Empire, the Mogul was lord of all uncultivated lands, and that therefore, although time and custom had intervened for generations, the land might be resumed. The effect in any case has been disastrous. The leaves of trees are largely used in India for manure, and the supply is now cut off. The pasture has been reduced and cattle are dying of hunger. Where wood had been free from time immemorial, so much a load now has to be paid. In the Ghauts of Bombay matters seem to have gone farther still, and after the great famine of 1877-78 Sir Richard Temple had whole districts enclosed, evicting the ryots and destroying their villages. The ryots in turn set fire to

the forests, and but for his timely resignation of office it is said the whole country would have been morally and physically in a blaze. I know that the ill-feeling caused by his high-handed action—which reminds one of that of William Rufus when he enclosed the New Forest—has left behind it memories bitter as those in Ireland to this day. Bad or good, necessary or unnecessary, the Forest Act has much to answer for in the present state of discontent among the peasantry.

Allied to this, and even more general in its pressure on the poor, stands, secondly, the Salt tax. Its oppressive character has been much disputed ; but in the Madras Deccan and the poorer districts of Bombay there should be no doubt whatever upon the matter. It is the one great theme of complaint, the one that touches the people most nearly and is most injurious in proportion to the poverty of the sufferer by it. The comparatively well-to-do ryot of Bengal and North-Western India does not feel it and does not complain of it. But wherever there is real pinching in the necessities of life, there the salt monopoly raises a clamorous cry. It is only the very poor who are obliged to stint themselves in salt ; but the very poor are, unfortunately, the rule in Southern India. In the

Deccan, moreover, its pressure is more galling, because natural salt lies on the ground, and the people are therefore starved of it as it were in sight of plenty. In several villages which I passed the ryots told me that they had been reduced to driving their cattle by night to the places where salt is found, that they may lick it by stealth ; but the guards impound them if thus caught infringing the law ; and latterly orders have been given that the police should collect in heaps and destroy all salt whatever found in its natural state above ground. In other parts I heard of a kind of leprosy attacking persons deprived of this necessary article of diet ; and especially on the sea-coast south of Bombay the disease was spoken of as prevalent. The fact of there being no complaint with regard to the salt tax at Calcutta or in Northern India, has caused the Indian Government to be callous on this matter, and I fear the fact that it brings six millions sterling to the revenue is an additional reason why it is likely still to be overlooked. But it is one that is nevertheless very urgent in the poorer districts, where it is causing real and increasing suffering, and where it is regarded with well-founded anger. The price of salt sold to the people by the Govern-

ment is reckoned at from 1200 to 2000 per cent. on its cost value.

Lastly, and this is the case all over British India, the peasantry is deeply, hopelessly in debt. It is curious to find this prime cause of the Egyptian Revolution faithfully reproduced in India under our own paternal and enlightened rule, and through the same causes. Agricultural debt came into being in either case with European methods of finance; and, although the subject has been thoroughly threshed out by previous writers, I shall perhaps be pardoned if I once more briefly explain the process. In old times, as I understand the case, in Oriental lands money was practically unknown to the peasantry. Their dealings were in kind, and especially the land tax paid to the Government was paid not in coin but in corn. The whole of the peasants' security, therefore, if they wanted to borrow, was their crop—and, if at sowing-time they needed seed, it was recoverable only at the harvest; at which time also the Government took its share—a tenth according to strict Mohammedan law, or it might be a fifth, or in times of grievous tyranny the half. Nothing more, however, than the crop of the year was forthcoming. No lender, therefore, would advance

the impecunious cultivator more than his seed corn or the loan of a yoke of oxen, and there was no possibility on the Government's part of anticipating the taxes. The economic law of ancient Asia was to do things parsimoniously, to spend according to the means in hand, and at most to store up wealth for rainy, or rather rainless, days.

But with European administration came other doctrines—wealth, our economists affirmed, must not be idle ; production must be increased ; resources must be developed ; capital must be thrown into the land. The revenue, above all things, must be made regular and secure. In order to effect this, payment in money was substituted for payment in kind—a regular tax for an irregular portion of the crop ;—and, while the rate was nominally lowered, no loss from accidental circumstances was to be allowed to fall upon the Government. So much coin must be forthcoming every year as the tax on so many acres. In countries as in England where the system is understood, where markets are at hand, and money plentiful, this is undoubtedly the best and most convenient form of levying the revenue. But in the East its introduction has always produced disorder. In the country districts of India, as in Egypt, corn could not be sold in the

public market at its full market price, and when the day came for payment of the Government dues, the peasant had the choice either of selling at a grievous loss or of borrowing the money. He generally borrowed. I believe it may be stated absolutely that the whole of peasant indebtedness in either country originally came from the necessity thus imposed of finding coin to pay the land tax.

The change, however, put immediate wealth into the hands of Government, by lessening the cost of collecting the revenue, and so was approved as a beneficial one; and by an inevitable process of financial reasoning borrowing was encouraged. It was argued that capital, if thrown into the land, would increase the wealth of the agriculturist along with the wealth of the revenue. But how induce the investment of that capital except by increasing its security? In order to enable the agriculturist to borrow, he must be able to give his debtor something of more value than the crop in his field. Then why not the field itself? The laws of mortgage and recovery of debt by safe and easy process were consequently introduced, and courts appointed for the protection of creditors. This completed the peasant's ruin. Finding money suddenly at his disposal, he borrowed without

scruple, not only to pay taxes and to improve his land, but also for his amusements. Whether I am right or wrong in the details of this history, it is an indisputable fact that at the present moment there is hardly a village in British India which is not deeply, hopelessly in debt. In the course of my inquiries I do not remember to have met with a single instance of a village clear of debt even in Bengal.

This is the last worst evil which English administration has brought upon the Indian peasantry, and when one considers all their poverty and the depth of their increasing liabilities one finds it difficult to have patience with the optimist views of men like Sir John Strachey, who see all that they have created in India and find it very good. That we have done much that is of advantage to agricultural India no one will deny, but have we not done it still more harm? We have given the ryot security from death by violence, but we have probably increased his danger of death by starvation. This is a doubt which is beginning to assert itself vividly in the minds of thoughtful Indians, and it is one that thoughtful Englishmen too will do well, before it is too late, to entertain.

Admitting, then, the general fact of India's

growing agricultural poverty, what should be our remedy? I confess to being a little sceptical of the legislative nostrums partially applied and proposed to be applied by the Imperial Government to a patient manifestly in want of a complete change of treatment and a long period of financial rest. Nor do I see my way to accepting such alleviations as the Bengal Rent Bill, or the founding of agricultural banks, or even local self-government, though all these things may be good, as a sufficient check to the evils fast accumulating. At best they may succeed in shifting the burdens of the people a little on this side or on that. They will not lighten them really by a single pennyweight, nor restore the confidence of the people in the humane intentions of the Government, nor put off even for a year the trouble which on the present lines of policy must certainly ensue. I do not believe in legislative remedies for the starvation of the ryot or in the possibility of relieving his position except at the sacrifice of interests too strongly represented both at Calcutta and in London to be assailed with any chance of success. Finance, not legislature, is the cause of all the evil; and until that is put upon a sound footing, the rest is of no real value. We have seen the results of an unsound

finance in Egypt: and we shall see them repeated in India before the world is many years older; and, unless I am much mistaken, in precisely the same form. Given anything in the shape of military disaffection (and who shall say that this is improbable?), and nothing is more certain than that an appeal will be made to the peasantry on the simple grounds of relief from debt, and reduction of the land tax, and that it will not be made in vain. Finance in Egypt declined all warning on this head, and finance in India, I fear, will equally decline it. But the danger is nevertheless there; and will assert itself when the time comes in spite of the financiers, and doubtless, too, as in Egypt, to the financiers' discomfiture.

When I was at Calcutta, I constantly discussed this matter with the leading native economists, and I know, too, their ideas in other cities; and at Bombay it formed the chief subject of attention at a meeting specially convened to instruct me with regard to the wants of the Presidency. I know, therefore, what Indians think about Indian finance, and I believe their reasoning is sound. According to these, the vice of the Calcutta budgets lies in the fact that, whereas in every other country the finance Minister looks solely to the interests of the

country he serves, in India he looks principally to the interests, not of India, but of England. Two English interests have to be served first, before any attention can be paid to the necessities of those who supply the revenue. First, the Anglo-Indian Administration must be maintained in full employment, in pay, allowances, and according to native ideas in luxuries; and secondly, every kind of advantage must be given to English trade. It is unnecessary for me to argue out the question of the excessive costliness of the civil and military establishments of India. These are notorious in the world as surpassing those of all other countries to which they can be fairly compared in the present time or the past. And, although they may also lay claim to be the most efficient, it does not prevent them from being a vast financial failure.

It is a perpetual astonishment to travellers to note the scale of living of every Englishman employed in India, in however mean a capacity. The enormous palaces of governors and lieutenant-governors, their country houses, their residences in the hills, their banquets and entertainments, their retinues of servants, their carriages and horses, their special trains on their journeyings, their tents, their armies of retainers and camp followers—these

are only samples of the universal profusion ; an equally noble hospitality reigns in every bungalow on the plains ; and endless dinners of imported delicacies, with libations of imported wines, tempt night after night the inhabitants of the most solitary stations to forget the dismal fact that they are in Asia and far from their own land. No Collector's wife will wear an article of Indian manufacture to save her soul from perdition, and all her furniture, even to her carpets, must be of English make.

I remember early in my travels having the good fortune to enjoy the hospitality of a country station-master on the Indian Peninsular Railway, and being astonished to find him living in better style, and in a house larger than most English rectories, while we were driven out after luncheon by his lady in a charming phaeton drawn by a pair of stepping ponies. There was no reason, however, for astonishment. He lived as all Englishmen in India do, that is to say, about five times as well as in his rank of life he possibly could do at home, and he was worthy of his good fortune. Only it must not be supposed that the natives starving outside are at all proportionately the better for the brave living of their rulers. I, an English traveller,

profited as a guest, and I am half ashamed to say how sumptuously I fared. But the poor ryot was, in fact, my host—not the other—for it was he whose labour fed me, though he did not share the meal.

I say, a traveller cannot fail to be impressed, and, if he have any powers of reflection, disagreeably so, with this profusion. There is surely no country in the world where in the midst of such starvation there is so much waste; certainly none where the expense of it all is borne so wholly and directly by the poor. I wonder whether any one has calculated the number of miles of macadamized road in the various Anglo-Indian cantonments, not a yard of which has ever served any purpose beyond that of enabling the officers' wives to pay each other visits in their carriages? I wonder whether any one has calculated the numbers of absolutely useless clock towers and Gothic memorials erected by Sir Richard Temples to Sir Bartle Freres, and Sir Bartle Freres to Sir Richard Temples in the various Presidencies? I wonder whether any one has calculated how many hogsheads of champagne the water-drinking ryot has paid for in the last half-century as an unaccounted item of his yearly budget? These

things strike the imagination of the traveller. They do not strike the resident in India. They are not arguments, but impressions; and yet they mean something.

If, however, the ryot must maintain the luxury of his English administrators before his own wants can be supplied, so, too, must he maintain the English trader to the ruin of his own trade. I am repeating native arguments when I complain that the necessity of considering the advantage of Manchester capitalists stands seriously in the way of an honest framer of the Indian Budget, and that, whereas the Finance Minister of every English colony is at liberty to raise money by import duties and generally does so, the Indian Minister is precluded from that source of revenue. I have argued the matter of Free Trade out with the native economists, and they seem to me perfectly to understand it. They know that as applied to England, a manufacturing country which imports its food, Free Trade is considered a necessity of financial life. But they deny that the doctrine applies with equal cogency to India. India, they say, is a produce-exporting country like the United States or the Australian colonies. It imports no single article of prime necessity, iron

and coal perhaps excepted, and the cotton and other manufactured goods consumed there are luxuries only used by the rich, and especially by the Europeans. It is certain that no ryot in all India wears any cotton clothing of foreign make, or has his means of existence made one whit cheaper for him by Free Trade. Import duties, then, would tax the rich only, and the rich in India are hardly taxed at all. Yet, because Free Trade is of advantage to England, India must forego her own advantage. This, the natives say, may be a political necessity, but it is not ruling India financially for India's good. I confess I do not see where the flaw in their argument lies.

They say, moreover, that Free Trade in manufactured goods has destroyed the native industries and given nothing in their stead. When the hand-looms a hundred years ago were ruined in the English counties, the rural population migrated to the towns and found work in the great factories. But in India this has hardly at all happened. The ryot who used to weave is left without labour of any sort during his spare time, for distances are great and there is little demand for labour in the towns, and he remains of necessity idle, so that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a present

of his labour has been made by Anglo-Indian finance to his English rival. The doctrine of advantage from buying in the cheapest market does not help him, for he buys nothing cheaper; and if the English manufacturer shares the advantage with any one in India, it is with the town consumer, not with the ryot. Every native economist, therefore, whom I have spoken with on the subject, would impose import duties on manufactured articles except machinery. Thus, they say, a tax would be levied upon the rich; and if it acted as a protection and stimulus to home manufactories, why, so much the better. With protection, factories could be established in the Indian country towns in which the surplus labour of the ryot would find employment, and so the injury done him be in part redressed. If this doctrine is unsound, I shall be glad to hear in what manner; for at present it seems to me to have not a little reason.

I was surprised to find, in an assemblage mainly of rich men, that most of those who composed the Bombay meeting already alluded to were in favour of some form of income tax. Not that they altogether denied its general unpopularity, but from the necessity they recognized of taxing wealth.

They said that in one shape or other incomes had always till recently been taxed in India, and that, though there were great difficulties in the way of collecting any sort of income tax fairly, it had always been accepted. The present licence tax, they assured me, was much more hateful and far less profitable than any true tax on income, and seemed framed on purpose to distribute its pressure most unfairly. It seemed hardly credible, but according to present regulations the keeper of a small shop in the native quarter was taxed as highly for his trade as the richest English banker on 'Change; all the charge upon the latter's income, though he might deal in millions, being twenty pounds per annum in the form of a trade licence. The present system was, in fact, only another advantage given by the framers of Indian budgets to English trade; and they assured me that the people who really prevented a proper income tax from being imposed in India were not the native tradesmen, but the English officials whose salaries would be directly touched by it. If it were possible to levy import duties and a tax on incomes, the agricultural poor might be relieved, but hardly in any other way. I offer these suggestions for what they may be considered worth.

The prime measure, however, of agricultural reform, on which all native India seems agreed, is the granting of a permanent revenue settlement to every province, such as was ninety years ago granted to Bengal, and limiting thereby the preposterous claim of the Government to all ownership in land. This right of State ownership has worked everywhere, or nearly everywhere, its full natural result of impoverishment and disaffection ; and Bengal, which has been exempted from its action, has alone remained prosperous. I do not propose to argue out this great question here. But I intend to return to it on a future occasion ; and it will be sufficient for me now to say, that the value placed by native opinion on a fixed revenue settlement is the cause of the strong agitation actually in progress against the Bengal Rent Bill. This measure, in spite of Lord Ripon's immense popularity, is decidedly unpopular, and native politicians see in it a first blow struck at the prosperity of the only province which has hitherto escaped the universal drain of wealth into the Imperial coffers ; nor am I without reason to believe that so it was intended, not by Lord Ripon, but by some of his advisers. At present, however, I only state the fact that a permanent settlement of

the land revenue is urgently demanded by all India.*

To sum up, Indian economists are in favour, first, of import duties on manufactured goods such as are imposed in Australia and other colonies; secondly, of a shifting of the financial burden as far as possible from the agricultural poor to the commercial rich; and thirdly, of a renunciation by the Government of its indefinite claims upon the land. These views will probably be considered preposterous in England, where we have cut-and-dried principles of economy in contradiction to them. But it is certain that all native opinion is against us, and that our present system is bringing India very near to ruin. Surely, there must be something wrong in a state of things which has produced the spectacle of a Government, after having absorbed to itself the whole land rent of a country, still finding itself constantly in financial shifts. The Government of India, as landlord, does practically nothing for the land. All is squandered and spent on other things; and the people who till the soil are yearly becoming poorer and more

* It was, I believe, a maxim of Sir John Strachey's that, in the interests of Finance, the Bengal Settlement must by hook or by crook be scinded.

hopeless. This I call the agricultural danger, and if it is not one I again ask where the flaw in my reasoning lies. At least it is a reasoning held by ninety-nine out of every hundred educated and intelligent Indians.

CHAPTER II.

RACE HATRED.

“I hate him, Sir, for his skin.”

IF agricultural distress is the major premiss of revolution in India, the growth of political education in the towns is its minor—political education, that is, unaccompanied by any corresponding growth of political power.

With all my belief in Asiatic progress, I confess that before my recent visit to India I was not prepared to find this latter at all so far advanced as in fact it is; and from first to last I remained astonished at the high level at which native intelligence in political science already stands. I had judged it till then by such scraps of Indian newspaper criticism as I had come across, quoted not seldom by English writers in a hostile sense, and I had judged it wrongly. The newspapers of India, at least those edited in English, are neither on a par with our own, nor do they bear an equal relation

to the mental powers of those whose views they expound. I mean that, whereas in England an article in the *Times* or in one of the leading magazines, on a given subject, is, as a rule, intellectually superior to the speeches statesmen are delivering on the same subject, in India the oral arguments are always the best. Nor is it too much to say that for conversation of a political character there are few races in the world which can equal those of India, or that it would be difficult from our own House of Commons to choose men capable of sustaining a successful argument with the best educated Indians on any of the subjects specially interesting to them. I was throughout struck by this. The native mind is quick, lucid, and, it seemed to me, also eminently judicial ; and I found it distinguished by the absence of all such passionate exaggeration as I had been led to expect. Though in some of the public speeches I heard made at Calcutta the flowers of rhetoric were certainly not wanting, I did not find anything but what was substantial in the arguments used, and I was repeatedly conscious of being tempted myself to use stronger language than any which even at private meetings was indulged in by the speakers. It seemed to me that a great deal more might have

been said without violating the truth, that evils were often minimized, advantages dwelt on, and that there was a general disposition to understate rather than exaggerate matters in discussion. Often in conversation I have been on the point of protesting against the too naïve confidence of men known as demagogues in the good faith of English political action, against their implicit trust in the virtue of reason and a just cause, and their belief that, when they should have proved their griefs to be well founded relief, would thereupon be given. They seemed intentionally to ignore the selfishness and indifference of party statesmanship in England with regard to India ; and to be only too willing, in spite of political deceptions, still to be deceived.

It is indeed remarkable that, considering how much real ground of complaint there is against the present state of things, how just and deep are the causes of personal resentment stirring the minds of men, how galling to them are the everyday incidents of being ruled by an alien race, and how little prospect there is of any speedy change, there should be so few agitators of Indian opinion who speak even in secret of any real rupture with England as a thing to be desired. I hardly met

with one on my travels seriously so minded ; and all seemed vividly to remember the evils of their past history, and to see in them a warning of possible dangers in the future and a reason for caution in their words and actions. This, I say, was remarkable, and to one who, like myself, was seeking the germs of self-governing power in India, presented itself as a very hopeful sign. Froth, fury, and passionate denunciation I found little of in India. Of logical argument I found much, and of that reasoning from facts which is the best of all reasoning, and which in politics goes by the name of common sense.

While, however, I observed and am able to testify to the extreme moderation of what may be called the responsible leaders of native opinion in their purely political views, I could not fail in my intercourse with the educated of all classes to become aware of the ever-widening gulf of personal dislike which separates these from the individual Englishmen who rule them. The question of race hatred in India is a very delicate one to approach ; and I am conscious of accepting no little responsibility in venturing to treat of it at all ; and if I have resolved to attempt it, it is that I consider it would be affectation in a writer on India to pass

over so marked and growing a feature of modern Indian society, and that there are cases where the truth at any risk should be told, and where facts, however painful and humiliating, are better stated in their nakedness, while they can still be stated calmly, than left to disclose themselves in some violent form at a day when calm judgment shall have become impossible.

It is my distinct impression, from all that I have seen and heard, that the ill-feeling now existing in India between the English there and the indigenous races is one which, if it be not allayed by a more generous treatment, will in a few years make the continued connection between England and India altogether impossible, and that a final rupture of friendly relations will ensue between the two countries, which will be an incalculable misfortune for both, and may possibly be marked by scenes of violence, such as nothing in the past history of either will have equalled. We have seen within our own recollection a complete obliteration of kindly feelings in Ireland, brought about originally by injustice, later by want of understanding. We are seeing the same thing repeated through the same causes to-day in Egypt. And to-morrow we may well find the case of India equally hope-

less. I do not believe it to be already so ; but the injustice is there, and the people are beginning to be awake and to resent the stupidity of those who, representing England in India, wantonly affront them ; and unless the English public at home, with whom as yet the Indian races have no quarrel, becomes awake too to the danger of its own indifference, the same irreparable results of a general race hatred will follow. Only it should be remembered that, whereas Ireland and Egypt are countries comparatively insignificant in extent and population, and for that reason easily overawed by force, India is a vast continent peopled by races ten times more numerous than ourselves, and that the convulsion when it comes will be on a scale altogether out of proportion to our experience, and so the more alarming. Let India once be united, as Ireland and Egypt are, in a common sentiment of hatred for all that is English, and our rule there will *ipso facto* cease. Let it once finally despair of English justice, and English force will be powerless to hold it in subjection. The huge mammal, India's symbol, is a docile beast, and may be ridden by a child. He is sensible, temperate, and easily attached. But ill-treatment he will not bear for ever, and when he is angered in earnest, his

vast bulk alone makes him dangerous, and puts it beyond the strength of the strongest to guide him or control.

The account given me by the oldest and best informed of my native acquaintance (and I am not talking here of Bengali demagogues, but of men holding, it may be, or who have held high office under Government, and are deservedly trusted by it), of the gradual estrangement which has come about within their recollection between themselves and the English in India, is most instructive. In the days, they say, of their youth, thirty and forty years ago, though there were always among the Company's officers men who from their abuse of power were disliked and justly feared, the general feeling of the natives towards the English civilian was one of respect and even of affection. The Indian character is affectionate, enthusiastic, and inclined to hero-worship ; and the English in early days, from their superior knowledge and strength of character, exercised no little fascination on the native mind. Nearly all of the older men talk with reverence and esteem of certain teachers who instructed them in youth, and of certain early patrons to whom they owed their success in after life ; and they willingly acknowledge the

influence exercised over themselves and their generation by such individual example. The English official of that day, they affirm, had more power than now, but he exercised it with a greater sense of responsibility, and so of honour, in its discharge. He took pains to know the people ; and in fact he knew them well. Except in the very highest ranks of the service he was readily accessible. He lived to a great extent among the people, and according to the customs of the people. He did not disdain to make friends with those of the better class, and occasionally he married among them, or at least contracted semi-matrimonial relations with the women of the land. This may have had its ill consequences in other ways, but it broke down the hedge of caste prejudice between East and West, and gave the official a personal interest in the people, which no mere sense of duty, however elevated, could supply. The Englishman of that day looked upon India not unfrequently as his second home, and, taking the evil with the good, treated it as such. England could only be reached by the Cape route. Travelling was tedious and expensive, the mails few and far between ; and many a retired officer had at the end of his service become so wedded to the land of his adoption, that he ended

his days in it in preference to embarking on a new expatriation. It is easy to understand from this that the Anglo-Indian official of the Company's days loved India in a way no Queen's official dreams of doing now. Also that, loving it, he served it better than now; and was better loved in return.

Steam communication, however, with England and the increased facility given by it of maintaining home associations, had, even before the death of the Company, begun to effect a change in the way of living of its officers, a change which the Mutiny of 1857 accentuated and finally made complete. Gradually, as a visit to England became easier, leave was more frequently applied for; and the officer, returned from furlough, brought back with him a renewed stock of Western prejudices. He no longer considered himself cut off from the political life of his own country, or occupied himself so exclusively with the politics of India; and he came to look forward to other ways of distinction than those the Indian service offered him. Lastly, the Mutiny itself, with the bitter memories it left behind, put an end to the contracting by Englishmen of native habits and native ties. With the introduction of railways, quick posts, and tele-

graphic messages, Englishwomen ceased to dread India as a field of marriage ; and every official now dreamed of making an English home for himself in the station where he lived. Thus he cared yearly more and more for English news and English interests, and less and less for those of India.

I shall no doubt incur anger by saying it, but it is a fact that the Englishwoman in India during the last thirty years has been the cause of half the bitter feelings there between race and race. It was her presence at Cawnpore and Lucknow that pointed the sword of revenge after the Mutiny, and it is her constantly increasing influence now that widens the gulf of ill-feeling and makes amalgamation daily more impossible. I have over and again noticed this. The English collector, or the English doctor, or the English judge may have the best will in the world to meet their Indian neighbours and official subordinates on equal terms. Their wives will hear of nothing of the sort, and the result is a meaningless interchange of cold civilities.

Nothing in the world can be more dreary than the mixed assemblies of the Indian natives and their Anglo-Indian patrons—inverted Barmecide feasts, where everything is unreal but the meats

and drinks, and all the rest is ill-concealed distrust. I have more than once assisted at them, and always with a painful feeling. The English host seems constantly to be saying, "I like to see you at my table because I am an English gentleman and wish all there to feel themselves at home. But I hope to God you will be careful in what you say, and take no liberties." The uneasy guest, though not with his lips, replies, "I am here because it is wise to stand well with those in power, but I know that your ladies look upon me as something of a wild beast, and you yourself perhaps grow a little brutal after your third glass of sherry."

I could relate more than one tale in illustration of this, but I do not wish needlessly to embitter so painful a feature of the case. It is sufficient to say regarding it that the Englishwomen of India look upon the land of their exile unaffectedly as a house of bondage, on its inhabitants as outside the pale of their humanity, and on the day of their departure as the only star of hope on their horizon. The feeling may be a natural and an unavoidable one, for it is probable that race prejudices are more deeply rooted everywhere in women than in men, but I affirm that it is most unfortunate, and

under the circumstances of growing education in the country, a very great and increasing danger.

The excuse commonly made by the Anglo-Indians for the lack of social cordiality between themselves and well-to-do natives is that the caste regulations of the latter bar real intercourse. A man who will neither eat with you nor drink with you, it is said, nor admit you to his own wife's society, cannot be really intimate in your house. But I confess I cannot see the force of that argument. In my own case I certainly did not find that caste prejudices prevented my forming the most agreeable relations with a number of Indian gentlemen, Brahmins of high caste, and Mohammedans, as well as Parsis and native Christians, nor did I find any who did not seem quite willing to treat me on an equal footing. I found no difference of any insurmountable kind between their ideas and my own; not more, indeed, than would have been the case had they been Spaniards or Italians. The fact of their not breaking bread with me, I am sure, constituted no kind of obstacle to our kindly relations.

On the other hand, it is obvious that, as regards the native Christians at least, the rule cannot apply. These have no caste prejudices, yet they are just

as much excluded from the pale of English society as the rest. I remember meeting a gentleman of high position and large fortune in the Madras Presidency, who as a young man had been an enthusiastic admirer of everything English. He was by birth a Brahmin of the strictest sect, and had violated all the rules of his caste when he had insisted on going, at the age of twenty, to finish his education in Europe. He had even gone so far as to forsake his own creed there and join the Church of England, and on his return to India he had married a Christian lady, and was now living with her according to English custom, as an Englishman in an English house. Of course he had had much to suffer by breaking with the beliefs and customs of his ancestors, and his position with his own people had become a difficult one, though he seemed to be still on good terms with them, and I am far from saying that I consider him to have acted wisely. But the peculiarity of the case was this, that, though he had spared no pains to make friendly advances to the English of the cantonment where he lived, he had never succeeded in being admitted at all into their society, or in being in any kind of way accepted as a person with whom they could

associate. He was a man of large fortune, a member of the town council, a scholar of very considerable mental attainments, and a gentleman of blameless character. Yet he was as distinctly a pariah with the Christian English, whose customs he observed, as he had become with the oldest-fashioned of the Hindoo relations he had left. I think, though he did not tell me so, that in his heart he regretted his change of creed, and he was certainly among the bitterest enemies I met of the present system of Anglo-Indian rule.

It will hardly be credited in England, but in this present year of grace, 1884, no hotel-keeper in India dares receive a native guest into his house, not on account of any ill-will of his own, but through fear of losing his custom. When I was at Bombay in the winter I was treated with the greatest kindness and attention by various members of the native community, and by none more so than by Mohammed Ali Rogay, the leading Mohammedan of the city. He had travelled in Europe, dressed in European dress, and had even so far adopted our manners as to subscribe to all the public charities and to drive a four-in-hand. Yet, happening one day to ask him to dine with me at my hotel, it was explained to me that this could not be, at least

not in the public room, "lest the English guests should take offence and leave the house."

In Bengal and Northern India things are still worse, and I think it is not too much to say that no native gentleman, whatever his rank, age, or character may be, can visit a place of public resort frequented by Englishmen, especially if he be in native dress, without a certain risk of insult and rough treatment. Railway travelling is notoriously dangerous for them in this respect, and nearly all my native acquaintances had tales to tell of abuse from English fellow-passengers, and of having been turned out of their places by the guards to accommodate these, and now and then of having been personally ill-treated and knocked about. Men of high position, therefore, or self-respect, are obliged, either to secure beforehand special compartments for their use, or to travel third class. The second class they are especially afraid of. I should not make this statement unless I had received it from unimpeachable sources. But I have been assured of its truth among others by two members of the Supreme Legislative Council at Calcutta, who separately narrated to me their experiences. I know also that one of the principal reasons with

certain of the leading natives of the Presidency towns who have adopted the European dress has been to escape thereby from chance ill-usage.

A painful incident of this liability to insult occurred last winter in my presence, which, as ocular evidence is always best, I will relate. I had been staying at Patna with the principal Mohammedian nobleman of the city, the Nawab Villayet Ali Khan, a man of somewhat advanced age, and of deservedly high repute, not only with his fellow-citizens, but with our Government, who had made him a Companion of the Star of India for his services. On my departure by the morning train on the 7th January last, he and some thirty more of the leading inhabitants of Patna accompanied me to the station, and after I had entered the railway carriage remained standing on the platform, as orderly and respectable a group of citizens as need be seen. There was neither obstruction, nor noise, nor crowding. But the presence of "natives" on the platform became suddenly distasteful to an English passenger in the adjoining compartment. Thrusting his head out of window he began to abuse them and bid them be off, and when they did not move struck at them with his stick, and threatened the old Nawab especially with it if he

came within his reach. I shall never forget the astonishment of the man when I interfered, or his indignation at my venturing to call him to account. It was his affair, not mine. Who was I that I should interpose myself between an Englishman and his natural right? Nor was it till, with great difficulty, I had procured the aid of the police, that he seemed to consider himself other than the aggrieved person. Now I can affirm that there was absolutely no reason for his conduct. He was a middle-aged man of respectable appearance—a surgeon-major, as it turned-out, in command of a district in the Punjab; he was travelling with his wife; it was in the morning, when ideas are calmest, and he was otherwise without excuse for excitement. In fact, it was a plain, unmistakable act of class arrogance, such as it has never been my lot to witness in any other Eastern country that I have yet visited. Moreover, it was evident to me that it was no unusual occurrence. The railway officials and the police treated it as a matter of small importance, did their best to screen the offender, and declared themselves incompetent to do more than register my complaint. On the other hand, the Nawab and his friends confessed with shame that, though they were insulted, they were

not surprised. It had happened to all of them too often before for them even to feel any special anger.

“We certainly feel insulted,” writes one of them to me a day or two later, “but are powerless to take any action on it. We are used to such treatment from almost every Anglo-Indian.”

“We account for his conduct,” says another, “by supposing that he thought us (the natives) to be nothing less than brutes and wild creatures ;” while a third remarks :—

“From this you will see how our ruling race treats us with scorn and contempt. Had we been in English dress, then we would not, perhaps, have been so much hated.”

“I beg to assure you, writes a fourth, “that the incident was not” (an only) “one of its kind, but such treatment is becoming general. The alarm and dread with which the Anglo-Indians are regarded cannot be described. Alas ! we are hated for no other reason but because we have a dark colour ; because we put on a national dress ; and because we are a conquered race.”

“Allow me to say that it will be difficult for England to hold India long if such a state of feeling is allowed to progress without any check.”

And so on through a mass of letters. I have

hope now, however, that the Government, before whom I laid this case, is taking it up. The Nawab has lodged a formal complaint with the Collector ; Lord Ripon has promised that it shall not be allowed to drop ; and my only fear is that, through the procrastination with which all inconvenient complaints are met in India by the subordinate officials, the apology due to the offended gentlemen will be deferred so long that its effect will have been in great measure lost.*

Another cause of the bad relations in modern times between the Indians and their English masters has been explained to me to be this :— Under the East India Company the official hierarchy, being the servant of a commercial corporation, were mainly recruited from certain families already connected by ties of service with India, and imbued with traditions of rule which, though far from liberal, were yet on the whole honourable to those who held them, and not antagonistic to native sympathies. The officer of the Company looked upon himself as the protector of native

* The apology was made, a lame one enough and rather tardy ; but as Mr. Primrose, Lord Ripon's private secretary, remarks in his letter of August 29, 1884, forwarding me a copy of it, "The mere fact of a European addressing a formal apology to a native gentleman is worth something."

India against all comers, his own countrymen as well as others; and it was generally found that, where European planting and native interests clashed, the Collector or magistrate was inclined to favour the latter rather than the former in decisions which might come before him. As a rule he belonged to a rank of life superior to the non-official Anglo-Indian, and the distinction of class was felt. Indeed, it often happened that there was more sympathy of breeding between the Company's servant and the well-born Hindu or Mohammedan gentleman than between the same servant and the English adventurer of the towns or the English indigo-planter of the country districts. With the adoption, however, of open competition for the civil service, another class of official has been introduced into India, who is distinctly of a lower social grade, and who in so far exercises less authority over his trading fellow-countrymen, and, the natives say, is less kind and considerate towards themselves. A young fellow, say the son of an Ulster farmer, is pitchforked by a successful examination into high authority in Bengal. He has no traditions of birth or breeding for the social position he is called to occupy, and is far more likely to hobnob with the commercial English of

his district than to adapt himself to the ceremonial of politeness so necessary in Oriental intercourse. He is looked upon by the European planters as one socially their inferior, and by the well-bred native as little better than a barbarian. He is lowered, therefore, I am told, in the social scale, and is far more frequently under the influence of his tag-rag English fellow-countrymen than in former days. I cannot say that I have met with men of this description myself, but I have heard of them frequently, not only from the natives but from the English too, as a new difficulty of the situation.

What I did notice was, that throughout the agitation on the Ilbert Bill, the planters had a considerable backing in the official world. It was evident that the two societies were united in a way which would have been impossible in old times, in their opposition to the native hopes. This change of class in the members of the Civil Service, and—what I am personally inclined to think more important still—their change of duties, must be considered if we are to estimate the increased irritation between race and race. The modern system of bureaucratic regularity, where all is done according to printed forms and fixed rules, entails on the civilians many hours daily of irksome office work,

unknown in early times ; and has had the double effect of wearying their zeal and of secluding them still further from the people. Red tape has strangled initiative in collectors, magistrates, and district officers, and has left them no time for personal intercourse with those they govern. "How can we sit gossiping with the natives," say these, "when we can hardly get through our daily work as it is by the greatest economy of time?" A valid excuse, truly. Yet it was exactly by gossip that Lawrence and Nicholson, and Meadows Taylor gained their influence in former days.

I consider myself fortunate in having been at Calcutta at the precise moment when the Ilbert Bill controversy was at its fiercest, not on account of any special interest I took in the Bill itself, but for the instructive display of rival passions and motives it evoked. Lord Ripon has most unjustly been blamed for unnecessarily causing the conflagration. But in truth all the elements of a quarrel were there already in the strained relations just described as existing between Englishmen and natives ; and it was an accident that the particular ground occupied by the Ilbert Bill should have been chosen on which to fight the battle of race and prejudice. The history of the affair as viewed with

natives' eyes was this. When Lord Ripon arrived in India he found the ill-feeling between the two classes very bitter, and he wisely determined on redressing, as far as in him lay, class disabilities, thus carrying out the liberal doctrines proclaimed over and again for India by his party while out of office. For such a work no man could have been better suited by temperament or conviction. It is hardly sufficiently understood in England how large a part personal integrity plays in acquiring the sympathy of Orientals for their rulers, and how impossible it is to govern them successfully either by the mere mechanical instruments of a system or by individual talents, however great, when these are divorced from principle. The display of ingenuity and tactical resource which imposes on our own political imagination and sways the House of Commons is absolutely valueless in the East; and charlatanism is at once detected and discounted by its acute intelligence. The Englishmen, therefore, who have succeeded most permanently in India have rarely been the most brilliant; and the names which will live there are not those which their English contemporaries have always ranked the highest. Moral qualities go farther; truth, courage, simplicity, disinterestedness, good faith—these com-

mand respect, and above all a solid foundation of religious belief. Such qualities the natives of India acknowledged from the first in Lord Ripon, and no amount of mere cleverness could have placed him on the pedestal on which he stands to-day with them—or rather, I should perhaps say, on which he stood until the desertion of the Home Government forced him into an abandonment of his position as a protector of the people.

I am glad to be able to bear testimony to the fact that no Viceroy, Lord Canning possibly excepted, ever enjoyed such popularity as Lord Ripon did in the early part of last winter. Wherever I went in India I heard the same story; from the poor peasants of the south who for the first time had learned the individual name of their ruler; from the high-caste Brahmins of Madras and Bombay; from the Calcutta students; from the Mohammedan divines of Lucknow; from the noblemen of Delhi and Hyderabad—everywhere his praise was in all men's mouths, and moved the people to surprise and gratitude. "He is an honest man," men said, "and one who fears God," and in this consciousness all have seemed willing once more to possess their souls in patience. To say that Lord Ripon has been a failure in India, through any

fault of his own, is to say the reverse of a fact patent to the whole native world. He has been the most successful governor India has ever had, because the most loved ; and the only sense in which he can be said to have failed is in so far as he has failed to seek the favour of the English ruling class or impose his will on the Home Government.

Of his legislative measures I must speak with less enthusiasm. The spirit in which they were brought forward was Lord Ripon's own ; but the drafting of the Bills was the work of others ; and they have been doubtless disappointing. Thus, the Local Self-Government Bill, though admirable in idea as marking a first step towards native administration, is in itself a poor thing, and is appreciated as such even by Lord Ripon's most cordial admirers. The powers it grants are too exiguous, the ground it covers is too small, the checks it imposes are too stringent, for the Bill to excite any great enthusiasm with the natives, and it is difficult for an Englishman to peruse its provisions without wonder at its ever having gained the name of an important measure of reform. Put in a few words, the Local Self-Government Bill means that the native communities are to be

allowed to mend their own roads, to levy their own water rates, and devise their own sanitation, on the condition and provided that the Commissioner of the district does not think them incapable of doing so. This for the first time after a hundred years of English rule! I know what the natives think of the measure, and how little it fulfils their expectations; but no higher tribute can be paid to Lord Ripon's popularity than that they have been sincerely grateful to him for it.

Thus, too, the Ilbert Bill, of which we have heard so much. It was in itself an infinitesimal measure of relief from native disabilities. It provided that native judges, under certain exceptional conditions, in country districts, should have jurisdiction over Englishmen, a jurisdiction long ago fully granted them in Ceylon with no ill results, and also granted in India in the presidency towns. The only province, as far as I could learn, which would have been at all seriously affected by the Bill was Bengal, where the English planters saw in it a check to their system of managing and mismanaging their coolies. I heard a good deal about this from some Assam planters with whom I sailed on my way out to India, and I know that that is how they regarded it. "It is all nonsense," these

told me, "to suppose you can get on without an occasional upset with the niggers, and our English magistrates understand this. But if we had native magistrates we should be constantly getting run in for assault." In other districts, however, where milder manners prevail, there seemed to be no such dread of the Bill ; and as to the probability of any real abuse of their position by native judges with Englishwomen, I am certain that the whole thing was purely fictitious. But the agitation against the Bill became dangerous from the fact that it was all along fostered by the Anglo-Indian officials, who chose the Bill as a battle-field on which to contest the principle of Lord Ripon's Liberal policy. In the Local Self-Government Bill they had seen a first blow struck at their monopoly of power, and they seem to have made up their minds to permit no second blow. They were aided by the English lawyers, who recognized in it a menace to their professional advancement ; and by the planters for the reasons I have given ; and, following the example of the *Times*, the whole press of England soon joined in the cry. The natives, too, from first to last fought the battle as one of principle, though with far more moderation than their assailants.

I was present in Calcutta on the day when the compromise, negotiated by Sir Auckland Colvin, was announced to the public, and I know the effect it produced on native politicians. It was everywhere looked on as a surrender, and a disgraceful one; and there was a moment when it was doubtful whether popular indignation would not vent itself in more than words. But Lord Ripon's personal popularity saved the situation, and moderate counsels prevailed. It was recognized even by the most violent that the pusillanimity of the Home Government, not of the Viceroy, was in fault; and it was felt that should popular indignation turn now upon Lord Ripon, no Viceroy would ever again dare befriend the people. The compromise, therefore, was accepted with what grace was possible, and bitter feelings were concealed, and the day of indignation postponed.

I consider the attitude of native opinion on this occasion vastly creditable to the political good sense of India, though it would be highly dangerous to trust to it another time. The evil done will certainly reappear, and be repaid upon Lord Ripon's successors. Down to the last year the natives of India, completely as they had lost faith in the official system and in the honest purpose of

their covenanted rulers, still looked to the Home Government as an ultimate Court of Appeal, able to defend them if not always willing. The weakness, however, of the Cabinet on this occasion to resist a wholly unjust and unscrupulous attack upon them was now apparent, and I doubt extremely whether they will ever again have confidence in Ministerial professions. The Government was entirely committed to the passing of the Bill, yet it gave way before the clamour of an insignificant section of the public, abetted by the sworn enemies of all reform in India—the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. The spectacle was not an edifying one, and I know that the natives appreciated it entirely on its merits, and I am much mistaken if they did not also come to the conclusion that the justice of a course was insufficient for its triumph in politics, and that the only path of victory henceforth lay through agitation. If this is so, there is little chance of peace in the future of the sort which governments love.

I do not like to complain of evils without at the same time suggesting remedies, but it is difficult to recommend an immediate remedy for the evils I have been depicting. The ill-feeling which exists between the English in India and the

natives is due to causes too deep-seated in the system we have introduced, and until that system is changed, little real good will be effected. I would, however, point out that there is as yet no true hatred of race between Englishmen and Indians, but rather one of class only, and that it is yet within our power in England to change the threatened curse into a blessing. The quarrel in India up to the present moment is with the Anglo-Indians only, not with the English nation; and though recent disappointments have begun to shake their confidence in the Home Government, the natives have not wholly lost their belief in the sympathy of the land where liberty was born. Between the two classes—the English of India and the English of England—they still draw a distinct line, and race hatred in its true sense will not have been reached until this line is obliterated. They say, and truly, that in England such of them as go there find justice, and more than justice, that they are treated as equals, and that they enjoy all civil and social rights. They come back proud of being British subjects, and preserve none but agreeable recollections of the Imperial Island. They do not wish for separation from its Government, and are loyal before all others to its Crown. But the

contrast of their subject-life in their own land strikes them all the more painfully on their return, and they are determined to procure reform. "Reform, not Revolution," is their motto, but reform they have made up their minds to have.

With regard to the direction any new change should take, the educated natives argue thus: Purely English Administration, they say, in India has had its day and needs to be superseded. It has wrought much good in the past by the introduction of order and method, by raising the standard of public morality, and by widening the field of public interests. As such it deserves thanks, the thanks of a sick man for his nurse, of a minor for his guardian, of a child for his preceptor. But further than this, India's gratitude cannot go. It cannot be blind to the increasing deficiencies of those who rule it, or forego for ever the exercise of returning strength and coming maturity. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy has become too hard a master; it has forgot its position as a servant; it has forgot the trust with which it was charged; it has sought its own interests only, not those of India; it has wasted the wealth of the country on its high living. Like many another servant, it has come to look upon

the land as its own, and to order all things in it to its own advantage. Lastly, it has proved itself incapable of sympathy with those whose destinies it is shaping. It neither loves India nor has been able to command its love ; and by an incapacity of its nature it is now exciting trouble, even where it is most anxious to soothe and to cajole. Meanwhile the sick man is recovering, the child is growing up, the minor is about to come of age. He has learned most of what his tutors had to teach him, and his eyes are open to the good and the evil, the wisdom and the want of wisdom, the strength and the weakness of his guardians. He desires a participation in the management of his own affairs and a share in the responsibility of rule. To speak practically, the Civil Service of India must be so remodelled as to make the gradual replacement of Englishmen by natives in all but the highest posts henceforth a certainty.

It is not proposed, I believe, by any section of the Indian public to extend present demands farther than this. But, as with all political reformers there is an ideal towards which they look as the goal of their endeavours, so in India the goal of advanced thinkers is complete administrative independence for the various provinces on

the model of the Australian colonies. Their thought is that by degrees legislation as well as administration should be vested in native hands. First it may be by an introduction of the elective system into the present councils, and afterwards by something more truly parliamentary. The supreme Imperial Government all wish to preserve, for none are more conscious than the Indians that they are not yet a nation, but an agglomeration of nations so mixed and interblended, and so divided by diversity of tongues and creeds, that they could not stand alone. An Imperial Government and an Imperial army will remain a necessity for India. But they see no reason whatever why the practical management of all provincial matters should not, in a very few years, be vested in their hands. That the present system of finance and the exploitation of India to the profit of Englishmen would have to be abandoned is of course certain. But there is nothing in India itself to make this undesirable.

I refrain here from any attempt to sketch a plan of ultimate self-government for India, but I have argued the matter out with the natives, and I intend in a future chapter to set it forth in detail. Suffice it now to say that a change of some sort is

immediately necessary, or at least an assured prospect of change, if worse calamities are to be avoided. The danger I foresee is that, with an immense agricultural population chronically starved, and a town population becoming every day more and more enlightened and more and more enraged at its servitude, time may not be given for the slow growth of opinion in England as to the need of change. I am convinced that if at the present moment any serious disaffection were to arise in the native army, such as occurred in 1857, it would not lead to a revolt only. It would be joined, as the other was not, by the whole people. The agricultural poor would join it because of their misery, the townsmen in spite of themselves, because of their deep resentment against the Anglo-Indians, and the native servants of the Crown because of the checks placed on their advancement. The voice of reason, such as now prevails in the academical discussions of the educated class, would then be drowned in the general noise, and only the sense of anger and revenge remain. I know that many of the most enlightened Indian thinkers dread this, and that their best hope is to make the reality of their grievances, the just causes of their anger, heard in time by the English

people. They still trust in the English people if they could only make them hear. But they are beginning to doubt the possibility of attracting their attention, and they are very nearly in despair. Soon they may find it necessary to trust no one in the world but themselves. To-day their motto is "Reform." Let us not drive them to make it "Revolution" to-morrow.

CHAPTER III.

THE MOHAMMEDAN QUESTION.

“Societies are founded upon faiths. To reform a people, you must first reform their religion.”

IT is never well to have travelled from Dan to Beersheba and to record that one has found all barren; and in my present chapter I shall endeavour to paint the brighter side of the India which I saw last winter. The material misery of her peasantry has been enough described, and the bitter feeling of her townsmen educated to a sense of their fallen estate as a conquered people; and it remains to me to show the compensating good which by the mysterious law which rules all human things is being born out of their otherwise unredeemed misfortunes. The apologists of British rule boast that they have given India peace, and peace doubtless is a noble gift; but it has given her far more than this. What really deserves all Indian thanks, and is indeed an inestimable acquisition, because it contains within it the germs of a

reconquest of all the rest, is that it has given her liberty of thought. This is a new possession which India never had, and never perhaps would have had, but for English influences, and it is difficult not to see in it a gift undesigned, but which, like the last treasure issuing from Pandora's box, is destined to transform the curse of conquest into the blessing of a wider hope.

I am not one of those who love the East only in its picturesque aspects, and I have no quarrel with Europe because it has caused the East to change. I note, indeed, the destruction of much that was good and noble and of profit in the past by the unthinking and often selfish action of Western methods; but I do not wish the past back in its integrity, or regret the impulse given to a new order there of thought and action. I know that time never really goes back upon its steps, and no one more readily accepts than myself the doctrine that what is gone in human history is irrevocably gone. On the contrary, I see in the connection of East and West a circumstance ultimately of profit to both; and while the beauty of its old world is being fast destroyed, and the ancient order of its institutions subverted, I look forward with unbounded expectation to the new cosmos which

shall be constructed from the ruins. I am anxious, indeed, to save what can still be saved of the indigenous plan, and to use in reconstruction something of the same materials ; but I see that the new edifice may well be made superior to the old, and I should be altogether rejoiced if it should be my lot to share, however humbly, in the work of its rebuilding.

To speak plainly, the ancient order of Asiatic things, beautiful as it was, had in it the germs of death, for the one reason that it did not change. India especially, in old days, did not change. Conquerors came and went ; dynasties rose and perished ; and years of peace and war, of plenty and of famine, trod closely on each other's heels, while men were born and lived and died in the same thoughts. It was the natural life, the remnant of a society which still followed the law of instinct rather than of reason ; but even in the natural world health must be attended with growth or it will turn into decay. The intellectual growth of India by the middle of last century had long stopped ; and there was no sign anywhere, when our English traders first appeared, of a new beginning. Thought had resolved itself into certain formulæ from which there seemed no escape ; and

the brain of the body politic, unused and oppressed with its own mental restrictions, was growing every generation weaker.

We have seen the ultimate result of such inaction in other lands, in Asia Minor, in Persia, and, till within recent memory, in countries nearer home. It was seen everywhere in Europe in the Middle Ages, and seems to be a condition natural to all human societies at a certain stage of their growth. If too long prolonged it would seem they die, leaving their places empty, as in Babylonia, or being absorbed in other more vigorous societies, as the Byzantines were absorbed by the then vigorous Turks. In almost every case the intellectual awakening has been quickened from without, by the presence near it of an intelligence more living than its own and generally hostile, and it may safely be affirmed that the action and reaction of nations on each other's intellectual life is in itself a natural and necessary law of their development. Thus Mediaeval Europe owed the new birth of its thought to the invasion in the eighth century of the cultivated and chivalrous Moors through Spain, and the Catholic Church reformed its lax discipline, not four hundred years ago, in the presence of advancing hosts from

Western Asia. Something of the same process, therefore, may be also traced in the counter-wave which has now for the last hundred years and more been driving Europe back in menace to the East. Asia has been awoke by it at last to her danger, and is slowly informing herself with the victorious reason of the West, and assimilating to her needs that intellectual daring which is her adversary's strength. And nowhere more so than in India. After its long sleep the Indian intellect is rising everywhere refreshed, and is attempting each day more boldly to strike out new lines of speculation on the very subjects where it had been most closely and most hopelessly confined.

All this India indubitably owes to England. Nor is there any point on which the intellectual methods of the West have been brought more strongly to bear in Asia than on its creeds. The ancient monotony of religious practice divorced from religious intelligence, is slowly giving place to intrusive questionings which will not be appeased by mere formulæ, and men of all faiths are discussing and reasoning where a hundred years ago they only asserted. We have witnessed within the last generation something of this everywhere in Western Asia, but in India it is perhaps still more marked ;

and it seems certain that, whatever evil may have been there wrought to other interests, the interests of its religions will have been served by our rule, unconsciously, perhaps, and unwillingly, but none the less really. Paradoxical as it may sound, the wholly secular rule of aliens, whose boast it is that they have established no State creed, will be found to have renewed the life of faiths and given them a stronger, because a more intelligent, mode of being. The spiritual believer will be strengthened ; and the very pagan will be no longer "suckled in a creed outworn," but in living beliefs which will seek to exercise a moral influence on his conduct more and more for good. To speak precisely, what I see will be the outcome of such education as England is giving to the Indian races is a reformation of each of their several religious faiths, leading to purer thought in their followers, and above all to purer practice.

The creeds of India, speaking generally, are four: the Hindu, which under various forms embraces four-fifths of the whole population ; the Mohammedan, which is principally powerful in the North of India and Bengal, and which includes a census of fifty millions ; the Christian (Roman Catholic), found mainly in the extreme South ; and the Parsi.

Of these, Hinduism alone would seem to be a truly indigenous faith, or one wholly in harmony with the instincts of the rural population ; and it is impossible for a traveller not to be struck with the tenacity of the ancient superstitions which are its groundwork. Hinduism belongs to an older order of religions than any now practised in the West. It is not a religion at all in our modern sense of being a strict code of morals based upon any revealed or written law ; but, like the popular beliefs of ancient Greece and Rome, is rather a mythology resting on traditional reverence for certain objects in certain places. It is essentially national and local. It does not seek to embrace humanity, but is a privilege of the Indian races only ; and it cannot be practised in its purity elsewhere than in India. India, according to Brahminical teaching, is a sacred land, and there alone can be the shrines of its gods. There alone man can lead a perfect life, or worship with spiritual profit. Certain localities are specially holy—not, as with the Christians or the Mohammedans, on account of the tombs of holy men, but in themselves as being the chosen homes of the divine powers. All rivers in India thus are sacred, precisely as were groves in ancient Italy, and on

their banks the temples of the gods are built and spiritual influences felt.

From an æsthetic point of view nothing can be more seductive to a stranger from the West, or more surprising, than the spectacle of Hindu worship at one of these ancient shrines—the processions of women to some lonely grove by the water-side on holiday afternoons with their offerings of rice and flowers, the old-world music of pipe and tabour, the priests, the incense, the painted statues of the immortal gods, the lighted fire, the joyous sacrifices consumed with laughter by the worshippers. No one can see this without emotion, nor, again, witness the gatherings of tens of thousands clothed in white in the great temples of Southern India for the yearly festivals, and not acknowledge the wonderful continuity of thought which unites modern India with its European kindred of pre-Christian days. The worship of idols here is a reality such as untravelled Englishmen know only from their classics. The temples of Madura and Seringam are more wonderful and imposing in their structure than all the edifices of Europe put together, and the special interest is that they are not dead things. The buyers and the sellers still ply their trade in the porticoes, the

birds have their nests beneath the eaves. There are sacred elephants and sacred apes. The priests chant still round lighted braziers. The brazen bulls are anointed each festival day with oil, the foreheads of the worshippers with ochre. There is a scent of flowers and incense, and the business of religion goes on continuous from old time, perhaps a little slacker, on account of the increasing poverty of the people, but not less methodically, or as a living part of men's daily existence. When I had seen Madura I felt that I had at last seen a temple of Babylon in all its glory, and understood what the worship of Apis might have been in Egypt. This worship of the gods—not any theological or moral teaching—is the foundation of the Hindu religion, and what is still its distinguishing feature.

At the same time it is beyond a doubt that among the cultivated Brahmins, who have always acknowledged a higher philosophy than that of the people, there is a renewed tendency towards the spiritualization of beliefs. The philosophy of the Vedas is a high one, and presents to the restored activity of thought a standard for reform in intellectual conceptions; and although the Brahminical system is without an absolute written

code of morals, it is easily reconcilable with the highest, and akin to all that is best in the Semitic teaching. Nowhere more than among the Hindus is the tradition of domestic virtue a noble one, or the relation of father and child, of husband and wife, acknowledged as a sacred one. The vices, therefore, which ages of intellectual sleep have engendered, are readily recognized as evils now that the intellect is once more awake; and all that is best in the Christian moral code is being instinctively adopted into their system by the enlightened modern Brahmins. This is the common feature of all religious reform. Vicious practice is the concomitant of intellectual sloth, and as that sloth yields to action the practice reforms itself, usually after the model of whatever has roused it from its sleep.

Thus we see the modern Brahmins proclaiming the morality of unselfishness in no other language than that in which Christian divines proclaim it, and making it peculiarly their own. They have the same teaching as these about truth and justice and integrity, and appeal in the same way to conscience as a guide. They choose what is best, and make it harmonize with their own best traditions, and the result is a general elevation of

tone in the upper ranks of life which presages a corresponding reform in the lower.

This sometimes shows itself, as must also naturally be, in extravagance. There is a tendency always in such movements to imitate servilely; and so we see in the rising generation of the Hindus a certain advanced party which aims at making itself wholly European. A very few of these have adopted Christianity, but far more have contented themselves with an abandonment of their beliefs in favour of philosophies more or less agnostic. Others, again, without ceasing to be professed Hindus, have contented themselves with throwing off caste restrictions; and a considerable body in Bengal and Northern India have formed themselves into a special sect, known as the Brahmo-Somaj, which would seem to hold doctrines little different from the vaguer forms of Theism. In the South of India, however, which is the stronghold of Brahminism, these extreme innovations have taken little root, and instead there is found only a more reasoned form of the traditional beliefs. Whether the worships of Vishnu and Siva and the rest of the national Indian gods, have a sufficient backbone of practical ethics to undergo a great moral reform without losing in the end

something of their vitality as popular beliefs, I am not prepared to say ; but I feel certain that distinct moral improvement connected with these worships is in progress, and that the result up to the present has been an increased interest with the leaders of Hindu society in the welfare and social improvement of their religious communities. This shows itself in exertions made to spread education, in anxiety for the better management of religious trusts, in the restoration of temples, sometimes at very large individual cost, and in the rising agitation against child-marriage and in favour of the re-marriage of widows.

Something of the same process may be observed in the case of the Parsis. These would hardly require mention as an Indian sect at all were it not for their very great intelligence and the lead they have recently taken in native political life. They are insignificant in point of population, and very restricted in their locality. Bombay alone of the great cities finds them in large numbers. But their wealth there, their commercial aptitude, and their persistence in availing themselves of every means of education, have placed them in a position of large and growing influence. They are, as is well known, the descendants of the fire-worshippers.

of Persia, and still hold closely to their traditions. The religion of Zoroaster, originally simple and philosophical, seems, in common with the rest of the religions imported into India, to have become overgrown there with grosser thought and less worthy practice, and to have adopted many of the superstitions peculiar to the Indians. Some of these seem, indeed, to have been forced on the Parsis by the Hindu rulers at the time of their first settlements, and others to be the result of the general decay of knowledge due to political conditions. The Parsis, however, were among the first to take advantage of the intellectual liberty which has been the atmosphere of India since the coming of the English, and being also extremely keen traders they have profited more than others by the commercial *régime* of modern times and have grown rich. Well educated, well mannered, and naturally inclined to good, their religion is now simplifying itself once more, and the tendency of Parsi thought is, even more than the Hindu, towards a spiritualization of theological dogmas and a reform in social practice. Any one who has been with an educated Parsi over their "Towers of Silence" in Bombay must have been struck with the pains at which they are to interpret in a

philosophical sense their ancient practice of exposing the dead; or who has discussed social questions, with their desire to improve the condition of their women. Of the Parsis, however, and of the native Christians of Southern India, I will not speak at length. I saw too little of them to learn anything of real value; and the great numerical superiority of the Hindus and Mohammedans entitles them alone to general attention.

My own special attention was naturally most directed to the Mohammedans.

Mohammedanism, as is well known, entered India from two separate sides and under two separate conditions. Its first appearance was on the western seaboard in the shape of Arab traders, who came with the double mission of propagating the faith and making money. These were peaceful preachers, who relied for success not upon the sword but upon the power of persuasion, and the Mohammedanism implanted in this form is still to be found on the west coast, in the Kokhnis of Bombay, the Moplas of Malabar, and the Moormen, or Moors ("os Moros" of the Portuguese) of Ceylon. They are a busy, prosperous people—shopkeepers, pedlars, jewellers, or plying certain handicrafts, and notably that of house-building.

It was extremely interesting to me to find at Colombo the descendants of the ancient Arab settlers of the eighth and ninth centuries still keeping up the commercial tradition of Arabia intact. They number in the whole island of Ceylon about a quarter of a million, and are among the most prosperous of its inhabitants. I found them an old-fashioned community, more occupied with this world than with the next, and only to a very small degree affected by modern thought. Indeed, such change as was to be noticed among them was of as recent growth as the advent in Ceylon of Arabi and his fellow-exiles, whose larger experience of the great outside world of Islam and the prestige of their late championship of the faith had begun to make its impression on their thoughts. Until their arrival no Mohammedan in the island had ever sat down to meat with men of another faith, and very few had sent their children to any secular school. The example, however, of the exiles was beginning to be followed, and I found the Moormen already anxious for wider instruction, and to come into communication with the general body of the faithful. It will be a curious result of Egypt's misfortunes if the persecution of her patriot chiefs shall have brought ideas of religious liberty to the

Mohammedans of Southern India ; yet it is what seems to be happening. It would be well if these Moormen were more widely spread than they are, for their commercial instincts are a healthy element, and one much needed in the Mohammedan community of India proper.

As I crossed from Ceylon to the mainland and left the coast I first came in contact with the other and more common Mussulman type—the descendants of the northern invaders—men wholly distinct from the busy traders just described, and neither prosperous nor advancing. The Mohammedans of the inland districts of the Madras Presidency are the poorest in India. They represent the extreme wave of Mogul conquest southwards, long ago spent and now receding. They are the descendants, not of preachers and converts, but of the garrisons of the north, and their occupation of government gone, they are fast dying out from want of a means of living. The condition of the small Mohammedan communities of such towns as Tanjore and Trichinopoli is very pitiable. Isolated in a population wholly Hindu, possessed of no traditional industry, without commercial aptitude or knowledge of other service than the sword's, they seem dumbly to await extinction.

Their few rich men, owners of landed property, grow daily less and less at their ease, preyed upon as they are by an army of helpless and needy relations. They fall in debt to the Hindu money-lenders, are yearly less able to discharge their liabilities, and bit by bit the civil courts engulf them. Those who have no land are reduced to manual labour of the simplest sort on daily wages. It is a hard but inevitable fate, the fate which rests upon the law, that none shall live who cannot earn his bread. These Mohammedans of Southern India are the extreme exemplification of evils from which the whole community are to some extent suffering. In the south they are few and hopeless, and have almost ceased to struggle. In the north the danger of their condition is rousing them to new activity.

After visiting the independent Mussulman State of Hyderabad (a description of which I reserve for another chapter), and the communities of Calcutta and Patna, I passed on with ever-increasing interest to Oude and the North-West. The stronghold of Mohammedan India is the North-West, and there Islam is far from hopeless or disposed to perish. Intellectually the equals, and morally the superiors of their Hindu neighbours, the Mohammedans of the Upper Ganges Valley have not forgotten that

till very lately the Administration of India was almost entirely in their hands, and they look upon their declining fortunes as neither deserved nor irremediable. Their historical status is that of descendants of those Tartar and Persian and Afghan conquerors who have at various times invaded Hindostan from the North-West, or of the Hindu converts, principally Rajputs or Pathans, made by these. Their race, indeed, is nowhere pure, except in the case of a few princely and noble families, but the tradition of their origin remains intact, and is at the same time their weakness and their strength—their strength, inasmuch as it supplies them with a certain standard of honour beneficial to all societies; their weakness, inasmuch as it has given them prejudices against the ordinary means of living open to all the world.

The pride of conquest is the bane of all Mohammedan societies sprung from Northern Asia, and the Mohammedans of India form no exception. The Moguls never condescended to trade, but either settled on the land or took service, civil or military, under government; and their descendants are still swayed by the same proud instincts. Their misfortunes in India came upon them in successive waves. Forced by the Mahratta wars

into an alliance with the East India Company, the Mogul Emperors became early dependent on these ; and with the gradual absorption of the Delhi Monarchy, the exclusive privilege of rule departed from the Mohammedan caste—not all at once, but by degrees as new regulations were enacted and a new system introduced. The first to suffer were the landowners. By a certain fiscal measure, known as the “resumptions,” requiring all holders of lands to show their title deeds, the Mohammedans, who often held by prescription rather than by written grant, lost largely of their estates, and so were reduced to poverty. Next, the military services were in great degree cut off for them by the extinction of the native armies. And, lastly, the Act, changing the official language from Persian and Hindustani to English, took from them their still leading position in the civil employment. The Mohammedans had up to this more than held their own with the Hindus, as Hindustani was their vernacular, and Persian the language of their classics ; but in English they were at a distinct disadvantage, for that was already the language of commerce, and so of the educated Hindus. Nor could English be learned except at the secular schools, to which Mohammedans were averse to

sending their sons as tending to irreligion. The sources, therefore, of their employment were on every side curtailed, and a growing poverty has been ever since the natural result. The military revolt of 1857, which in Oude and at Delhi assumed a specially Mohammedan aspect, completed their disfavour with the English Government, and with it their material decline.

At the same time, owing to circumstances which I have never heard fully explained, it is an admitted fact that numerically the Mohammedans of Northern India have been and are a rapidly increasing body. This may have been due at times to extensions of British territory, or to conversion among the lower castes of Hindus, or to other causes; but it is certain that, whereas in old calculations the Indian Mohammedans were placed roughly at thirty millions, and more recently by Dr. Hunter at forty millions, they are now by the last census acknowledged to number fifty millions of souls, although the increase of the general population of India has been not at all in like proportion. With regard to their actual position, therefore, we are faced with the unsatisfactory phenomenon in Northern India of a vast community growing yearly more numerous, and at

the same time less prosperous ; of a community owning the instincts and the traditions of administration excluded yearly more and more from the administration ; and of a community which has good grounds for tracing its misfortunes to the unfavourable conditions imposed upon them by the Imperial Government. The Mohammedans of Northern India, there is no denying it, are restless and dissatisfied, and the only question is in what form their repressed energy, fired by misfortune and threatened with despair, is likely to find its vent. It may be in two ways—for their own and the general good, or for their own and the general harm ; and I believe that at the present moment it lies largely within the power of those who rule India to guide it to the former and turn it from the latter.

All who are responsible for tranquillity in India must be aware that there are influences at work, both within the country and beyond its borders, adverse to that tranquillity, and that at no time have these been more active than within the last few years, or engaged on ground more carefully prepared to receive them by the unwisdom of English policy. I am not, and have never been, an alarmist about Russian invasion. Viewed as a

power hostile to India, Russia is and may for ever remain innocuous, and I should view with equanimity her approach to the Hindu Kush, or even to the actual frontier, were it impossible for her to appear there as a friend. But as a friend I fear her. If our selfish system of government for our own and not for India's good remains unchanged ; if we do nothing to secure Indian loyalty ; if we refuse to give to the people that assurance of ultimate self-government which shall enable them to wait in patience the realization of their hopes ; if we continue to treat them as enemies subdued, as slaves to work for us, as men devoid of rights—then it is certain that within a given time all the external world will appear to the Indians under a friendly guise, and Russia as being the nearest, under the most friendly.

Nor can it be denied that under present circumstances the Czar's Government has much to offer which the people of India might be excused for thinking twice before they refused. The Russian, himself an Oriental, would be probably less hateful as a master than our unsympathizing official Englishman. But it is far from certain that it would be at all as a master that he would present himself to Indian hopes. He might well

appear as an ally, a liberator from the deadly embrace of our financial system, a friend of liberty, sound economy, and material progress. Who is to say that Russia should not, in exchange for a new commercial pact with herself, offer to establish India in complete Home Rule, and thus outbid us in the popular affection? It would not be hard to persuade India that she would gain by the change, and, Englishman as I am, I am not quite convinced that she would on all points lose by it. In any case, it might well be that men would risk something in the desire of change, knowing that at worst it would not be much worse for them than now.

Nor is there any section of the community to which this kind of argument would apply more strongly than the Mohammedan. The present order of things is distinctly threatening them with ruin, while just outside the frontier, and almost within hand's reach of them, live men of their own race and faith who are still self-ruled. What could be more natural than that they should look to these for support and succour, or to the still stronger Power beyond, if it should present itself as, in any special manner, their religious protector? Our own political unwise-dom of the last few years

has made this for the first time a possibility ; and what was a *mère chimera* in the last generation is rapidly becoming a practical danger.

Whatever may have been the defects of the old Ottoman alliance, there is no question that it was popular in Mohammedan India, that it symbolized the friendship of England for the outside world of Islam, and that it left to Russia the invidious post of Islam's chief enemy. For this reason the recent Afghan war, in its earlier stages, was condoned, it being understood as an indirect repulse of the Northern Power ; and it was not till later that it was looked upon with general disfavour. But the doubtful arrangements of the Berlin Treaty, the discreditable acquisition of Cyprus and the abandonment of Tunis—when these things became slowly to be understood—operated a change in men's minds, and prepared them for still stronger reprobations, when, for the first time, England showed herself distinctly the aggressor in Egypt.

In spite of the illusions of Ministers on the subject, or the subtleties to which they had recourse, it is beyond a doubt that the Mohammedans of India wholly sympathized with Arabi during the war ; that they were disgusted with the false issues raised in connection with the Sultan's proclamation

of his rebellion ; and that for the last two years Russia has ceased to hold with them the position of the most dangerous enemy their faith has to fear. I do not say that as yet the distrust is absolute. No little loyalty still survives for the English Crown as contrasted with the English Ministry ; but it is quite certain that the history of Egypt's ruin since the war, and the apparent design of our Government to destroy all that is best and foster all that is least good in Islam, is working on all sides a change. In the decay of Constantinople the Moslem world is looking more than ever for a champion ; and if England refuses the office it may well be offered to another Christian Power.

This, I say, is one way in which Mohammedan India may be taught to seek its salvation from accumulating evils. The other—and to my mind the far more hopeful way—it is in the power of our Government still to encourage them to choose. Three years ago I pointed out, in a book entitled “The Future of Islam,” the view which Indian Mohammedans took of her Majesty's duties towards them in connection with her assumption of the Mogul title ; and, while I was in India last winter, I had the satisfaction of finding my statement of their case fully accepted by those whom it most

concerned. The Indian moulvies, Shia as well as Sunni, held that her Majesty, in making herself Empress of India, had accepted a legal responsibility toward the Mohammedan community which involved a distinct obligation of protection in return for their loyalty, especially in such matters as the administration of their religious trusts, the furtherance of their education, and the arrangements connected with their pilgrimage; and they had even caused a translation of my statement to be published in Hindustani.*

With regard to religious trusts, I found everywhere complaint of their being misapplied. It appears that at the time of the *resumptions*, many of these were confiscated on the arbitrary ground of defect in title, and others later on apparently no ground at all but public convenience. The locally notorious case of the Mohsin trust in Bengal has now been in part remedied, but it is worth quoting as a case which the Government has been forced to acknowledge, and it has been cited to me as an example of numerous cases less well known in which similar injustice still exists. In this, a large

* "Essays on the Future of Islam," published by Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., and also in Urdu by Munisif Akbar Husseyn of Aligarh.

property was bequeathed by a rich Mohammedan explicitly for pious uses, yet for many years the income held in trust by the Government was devoted, not to any Mohammedan purpose at all, but to the education of Hindus. This, I say, has been acknowledged ; but I have been repeatedly informed that sufficient property is still in Government hands to satisfy, if it were devoted to the uses originally intended, all the pressing needs of Mohammedan education ; and I have the authority of Dr. Leitner, Principal of the Lahore Government College, for stating that in the Punjab alone *wakaf* property to the value of many thousand pounds yearly is being officially misapplied.

Of the pilgrimage, I will only say that the need of organization in the shipment of pilgrims is still strongly demanded, and of protection while on their journey. Something has been, indeed, done in the last three years, but exceedingly little ; and the Indian Mohammedans regard such protection as a duty of the Imperial Government, made more than ever necessary by the growing abuses connected with the quarantine and other vexatious regulations at Jeddah.

Again, with regard to their education, the case of the Mohammedans is this : Like the Catholics

in England, they are extremely attached to their religion, and anxious that their children should inherit in its purity a blessing to which they themselves were born ; and they consider that a merely secular education, such as is offered by the State, does not suffice for their need. In no country in the world is the position of a teacher towards his pupil a more powerful one than in India ; and the Mohammedans see that at the Government schools and colleges the masters are, almost without exception, English or Hindu. The great mass of the orthodox, therefore, hold aloof from these, and the consequence has been that they find themselves deprived of nearly all State aid in their education, and, for the more rigid, of all public education whatsoever. It is of course cast in their teeth by their opponents that this is mere fanaticism and prejudice ; that they refuse to learn English out of disloyalty, and that they desire no progress and no modern instruction. But, whatever may have been the case in former days, I can confidently assert that it is certainly not true now ; and I hold the position taken by the Indian moulvies to be an unassailable one in justice, or on any other ground than the theory that all religion is pernicious and should be discouraged by the State. I do not say

that the State in India has taken its stand publicly on this ground, but in practice its action with regard to public education affects Mohammedans in no other way. This, therefore, is a point on which the Imperial Government may, if it will, intervene as a protector, and in which its action would be at once appreciated by its Mohammedan subjects, and be recognized by them as a title to their loyalty.

Lastly, I would repeat what I have said elsewhere as to the special nature of the connection between the political and the religious organization of all Moslem societies. Mohammedans look to the government under which they live as a fountain of authority ; and they expect that authority to be used ; and it is useless to repeat to them that the Government is impartial to all religions and indifferent to their own. Indifference with them is tantamount to neglect of duty ; and as such the Mohammedans of India regard the present abstention of the English Government.

It must not, however, from all this be supposed that, under the cloud of neglect and growing misfortune, the Mohammedan community has sat still with folded hands and done nothing to supply its own educational needs. Mohammedanism in

India, no less than Hinduism and the religion of the Parsis, is in a condition of intellectual revival. The same new birth of the spirit of inquiry is witnessed with them as with the rest ; and the cry goes up from every town of India for more and better knowledge, and for a wider and more generous interpretation of their traditions, and a more rational observance of their law. With them, too, there are differences of opinion as to the direction of new thought and the limits of the changes required. A party of extreme innovation exists, and a party of moderate action ; and much rivalry has been the result and some bitterness : things which those who have studied the history of religious movements will recognize as signs of healthy life.

The College of Aligarh is the head-quarters of the new school ; and I did not fail to visit it ; and, though I confess that my sympathies lie rather with the less advanced party, it is impossible for me too highly to praise the zeal which has produced such a notable result. The Mohammedan College of Aligarh is the largest and most successful educational establishment devised by purely native effort which exists in India ; and is a pledge of what Islam is capable of under con-

ditions of intellectual liberty unknown in other lands. That it has gone too fast and too far is, indeed, its only reproach. The education given there is equal to that of the State schools, and it is fully as well governed in all that regards discipline and moral training. Nor need it be considered by Mohammedans wholly a misfortune that it should have incurred the suspicion of unorthodoxy, for in all new movements in religious bodies this must be risked ; and it is a hopeful sign that the very distrust with which it is regarded should be spurring the more conservative section of the community to educational rivalry with it.

I am glad to think that during my stay in India I was instrumental in furthering the idea of an educational establishment still wider in its range than that of Aligarh, and one which at the same time could be more strictly in accordance with the needs and desires of the community at large. The idea of a central university for all Mohammedan India was the result of conversations held by me with the chief leaders of religious thought at Calcutta and in the North-West Provinces ; and had its basis in a still larger thought, which I had first heard enunciated at Cairo, in the brief days of political freedom there, when the Nationalist

Ulema dreamed of renewing the intellectual glories of the Azhar. The hope, made void in Egypt, was renewed in India; and before I sailed from Bombay I had the satisfaction of learning that the plan was approved and being acted on by the leading Moulvis of the North-West, and was likely to take material shape under the patronage of the Nizam.*

The fact that already some £20,000 have been subscribed by Mohammedans towards its realization will prove, I hope, that this project is not a dream only, and that elements of vitality exist among the Mohammedan Indians which our Government might, if it would, lead to very great results indeed for good. I do not by this intend to imply that the Imperial Government does not take this view. I should be ungrateful if I did not acknowledge the encouragement given by Lord Ripon to this very scheme, or the countenance afforded by Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, to the various meetings held in its favour. There are many liberal-minded men among our high officials, and not a few friends of Islam. But the tide

* A draft scheme of this new foundation will be found in the Appendix.

of official movement is not in this direction; and the general feeling is indifference. What I mean is that I would have the matter taken up with vigour, as an Imperial duty, and not in Oude only and the North-West, but in every province where the Mohammedans are a numerous community. The advancement of their education, their encouragement in commercial and industrial pursuits, and a faithful protection of their religious interests abroad, will secure to the English Crown the renewed trust of its Mohammedan subjects. The neglect of these things, and a prosecution of the present evil policy of doing harm to Islam, will secure beyond redemption their disloyalty. It is a thing seriously to consider and decide while time is yet given. It soon may be wholly too late, for nothing is more certain than that the Indian Mohammedans, like those elsewhere, are in a crisis of their history; and that, by disregarding their just complaints, we are allowing griefs to grow which will some day overwhelm us with confusion. "England," if I may be allowed to repeat what I said three years ago, "should fulfil the trust she has accepted by developing, not destroying, the existing elements of good in Asia. She cannot destroy Islam nor dissolve her own

connection with her. Therefore, in God's name, let her take Islam by the hand and encourage her boldly in the path of virtue." This, in spite of the victory of force in Egypt, is still the only wise and worthy course.

On the whole, the intellectual and religious aspects of India under English rule are what I found there of most hope, and I am glad to think that they could hardly have been witnessed under other domination than our own.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NATIVE STATES.

“An hour of justice is worth seventy years of prayer.”

IT was not my design when I began these essays to venture any opinion with regard to the semi-independent States of the empire. They were a subject, indeed, of great interest to me, but one on which I would rather have withheld my views until I had acquired a fuller and more general knowledge, for my personal experience last winter was practically limited to the single State of Hyderabad, and I had been compelled by want of time to forego projected visits to the Mahratta principalities, Baroda, Gwalior, or Indore, or to take more than a passing glance at those of Rajputana. Circumstances, however, have quite recently turned public attention, both Indian and English, unexpectedly in the direction of the “native States,” and there are signs in the air, or rather, I should say in the public press, which

would seem to betoken that the Imperial policy towards some of the feudatory princes is about to assume a new shape of activity, so that I am tempted to go farther than I intended, and to add what I know about these princes and their relations with the empire to the rest of my Indian impressions.

Speaking generally, the interest attaching to the native States is twofold for the political observer. They present in the first place a picture, instructive if not entirely accurate, of the India of past days, and so serve in some measure as landmarks and records of the changes for good and evil our rule has caused. And secondly, they afford indications of the real capacity for self-government possessed by the indigenous races.

When one has seen a native court, with its old-world etiquettes, its ordered official hierarchies, and its fixed notions, one learns something, which no amount of reading could teach, about the tradition of paternal government long swept away in Madras and Bengal. One recognizes how much there was that was good in the past in the harmonious relations of governors and governed, in the personal connection of princes and peoples, in the tolerance which gave

to each caste and creed its recognized position in the social family. One is surprised to find how naturally such adverse elements as the Hindu Brahmin and the Mohammedan nobleman lay down together under a system which precluded class rivalry, and how tolerant opinion was in all the practical details of life. One does not readily imagine from the mere teaching of history the reason which should place a Mussulman from Lucknow in command of the army of a Rajput prince, or a Hindu statesman in the position of vizier to a Nizam of the Deccan. Yet seeing, one understands these things, and one recognizes in them something of the natural law existing between "the creatures of the flood and field" which makes it impossible "their strife should last." In the traditional life of ancient India there was an astonishing tolerance now changed to intolerance, an astonishing order in face of occasional disorder, and a large material contentment which neither war nor the other insecurities of life permanently affected. It is impossible, too, after having visited a native court, to maintain that the Indian natives are incapable of indigenous government. The fact which proves the contrary exists too palpably before one's eyes. The late Sir Salar Jung was as

distinctly a statesman as Lawrence or Dalhousie; and among the Mahrattas there are not a few diwans to be found in office capable of discharging almost any public function.

At the same time it is abundantly clear that in all that constitutes intellectual life the India of old days, as represented in the still independent States, was far more than a century behind the India of our day. Mental culture is at the lowest ebb in the capitals of the native princes. They possess neither schools on any large plan, nor public libraries, nor are books printed in them nor newspapers published. I was astonished to find how in the centre of busy intellectual India large flourishing towns were to be found completely isolated from all the world, absorbed in their own local affairs, and intellectually asleep. At certain of the native courts history is still represented by the reciter of oral traditions, letters by the court poet, and science by professors of astrology; while the general politics of the empire hardly affect, even in a remote degree, the mass of the unlettered citizens. Last winter's storm over Lord Ripon's internal policy left the native States absolutely unmoved. There is both good and bad in this.

With regard to their material prosperity, as contrasted with British India, I can only speak of what I have seen. The territories of the native princes are for the most part not the most fertile tracts of India ; and one cannot avoid a suspicion that their comparative poverty has been the cause of their continued immunity from annexation. Nearly the whole of the rich irrigated ricelands of the peninsula are now British territory ; and the estates of the Nizam, and the two great Mahratta princes Holkar and Scindia, comprise a large amount of un-tilled jungle. These countries possess no seaports or navigable rivers, and their arable tracts are not of the first order of productiveness, while the Rajput princes are lords of districts almost wholly desert. It would be, therefore, misleading to compare the material wealth of the peasantry in any of these States with those of Bengal or the rich lands of the Madras coast, for the conditions of life in them are not the same. But, poor land compared with poor land, I think the comparison would not be unfavourable to the native States. I was certainly struck in passing from the British Deccan below Raichore into the Nizam's Deccan with certain signs of better condition in the latter. Most of the Nizam's villages

contain something in the shape of a stone house belonging to the head man. The flocks of goats, alone found in the Madras Presidency, are replaced by flocks of sheep ; and one sees here and there a farmer superintending his labourers on horseback, a sight the British Deccan never shows. In the few villages of the Nizam which I entered I found at least this advantage over the others, that there was no debt, while I was assured that the mortality during the great Deccan famine was far less severe in the Nizam's than in her Majesty's territory.

It must not, however, be supposed that in any of the native States the ancient economy of India has been preserved in its integrity. Free trade has not spared them more than the rest. Their traditional industries have equally been ruined, and they suffer equally from the salt monopoly ; while in some of them the British system of assessing the land revenue at its utmost rate, and levying the taxes in coin, has been adopted to the advantage of the revenue and the disadvantage of the peasant. On the whole the agricultural condition of the Hyderabad territory seemed to me a little, a very little, better than that of its neighbour, the Madras Deccan, and I believe it is a fact that

it is attracting immigrants from across the border. The Rajput State of Ulwar, where I also made some inquiries, was represented to me as being considerably more favourably assessed than British Rajputana.

The best administered districts of India would seem to be those where a native prince has had the good fortune to secure the co-operation of a really good English assessor, allowing him to assess the land, not with a view to immediately increased revenue, but the true profit of the people. Such are to be found in some of the Rajput principalities, where the agricultural class is probably happier, though living on a poor soil, than in any other part of India; for the assessor, freed from the necessity which besets him in British territory of raising a larger revenue than the district can quite afford, and having no personal interest to serve by severity, allows his kindlier instincts to prevail, and becomes—what he might be everywhere in India—a protector of the people. I trust that it is understood by this time that I am far from affirming that Englishmen are incapable of administering India to its profit. What I do say is that selfish interests and the interests of a selfish Government prevent them from so doing under

the present system in British territory. Thus it is certain that the Berar province of Hyderabad under British administration has prospered exceedingly; and its prosperity affords precisely that exceptional instance which proves the general rule of impoverishment. What may probably be affirmed without any risk of error is, that the best administered districts of the native States are also the best administered of all India.

With regard to the town population, I found the few independent native capitals which I visited exhibiting signs of well-being in the inhabitants absent in places of the same calibre under British rule. With the exception of Bombay, which is exceptionally flourishing, the native quarter, even in the Presidency towns, has everywhere in British India a squalid look. The "Black Town" of Madras reminds one disagreeably of Westminster and the Seven Dials: and there is extreme native misery concealed behind the grandeur of the European houses in Calcutta. The inland cities are decidedly in decay. Lucknow and Delhi, once such famous capitals, are shrunk to mere shadows of their former selves; and there is a distrustful attitude about their inhabitants which a stranger cannot fail to notice. The faces of the

inhabitants everywhere in Northern India are those of men conscious of a presence hostile to them, as in a conquered city. In the capitals of the native States, on the contrary, there is nothing of all this, and the change in the aspect of the natives, as one passes from British to native rule, is most noticeable. The Hyderabidis especially have a well-fed look not commonly found in the inland towns, and are quite the best dressed of India. There is a bustle and cheerfulness about this city, and a fearless attitude in the crowd, which is a relief to the traveller after the submissive silence of the British populations. Elephants, camels, horsemen—all is movement and life in Hyderabad ; and as one passes along one realizes for the first time the idea of India as it was in the days when it was still the centre of the world's wealth and magnificence. That these gay externals may conceal a background of poverty is possible—English officials affirm that they do so ; but at least it is better thus than that there should be no gaiety at all, nor other evidence of well-being than in the bungalows of a foreign cantonment.

Nor is the cause of the better condition far to seek. Whatever revenue the native court may raise from the people is spent amongst the people.

The money does not leave the country, but circulates there; and, even where the profusion is most irrational, something of the pleasure of the spending remains, and is shared in and enjoyed by all, down to the poorest. In British India the *tamachas* of governors-general and lieutenant-governors interest no one but the aides-de-camp and their friends; and a large portion of the revenue goes clean away every year, to the profit of other lands and other peoples.

Of the administration of justice in the native States I had no opportunity of forming an accurate opinion, but I am willing to believe that it is less satisfactory in these than in British India. The only advantage that I could distinctly recognize in compensation was, what I have already mentioned, the absence of the Civil Courts, which are so loudly complained of in the latter on account of the encouragement they give to usury. It is worth repeating that the only villages I found free from debt in India were in the Nizam's territory. With this exception, it is probable that British justice is better everywhere than "native" justice, and there is certainly not the same check exercised in a native State by public opinion over the doings of magistrates and judges. In all this the native

States are far behind the Imperial system, for the despotic form of rule is the only one recognized in any of them, Hindu or Mohammedan, and there is no machinery by which official injustice can be inquired into or controlled. The ideas of liberty are spreading slowly in India, and the native States are hardly yet touched by them.

On the other hand, I do not hesitate to affirm that a vast amount of misrepresentation is at work with regard to the practical insecurity of life and property outside the area of British rule. Of all the native States, Hyderabad has the worst reputation on this score, and before my visit to the Nizam's capital I was under the impression that I should find its streets paraded by gangs of armed cut-throats giving battle to each other when they met, and making all peaceful life a matter of chance. But these stories proved, on trial, to be the merest romance, and the tales repeated to-day to have no reference to any modern state of things ; and it is probably not once in five years now that a street scuffle of any importance between the retainers of the rival noblemen occurs in Hyderabad. These things used to be common thirty years ago, and the tradition of them has outlived the fact ; but I believe it is not too much to say that, at

the present time, the streets of Hyderabad present no greater dangers for peaceable persons than those of Cairo or Constantinople. Very few of the citizens any longer wear arms, and I found that my wife's maid was very well able to go out shopping on foot in the city, and even one day to visit the mosques, with no other escort than the Resident's butler, a Portuguese from Bombay. The dangers were imaginary ones, exaggerated, perhaps, for the political purpose of preventing communication between the Hyderabidis and non-official strangers. As actual difficulties of government, they had long ceased to have importance.

The same, too, may be said of the tales of highway robbery in the country districts which every now and then find their way into the Bombay and Calcutta newspapers, and are telegraphed to England under such titles as "Alarming increase of Dacoity in the Native States;" "Reported presence of armed bands in the Deccan;" "Dangerous state of the Hyderabad provinces," etc. These, like a vast majority of the telegrams from Egypt before the late war, are mere diplomatic fictions put out from time to time in the interest of political purposes. The true facts about Dacoity and Thuggi in the Deccan I learned

while at Hyderabad from the English officer in charge of that department ; and I know that, while Thuggi has long been extinct, Dacoity has become so rare in the Deccan that the cases on which the officer was occupied had nearly all occurred many years before. The last case of an Englishman having been attacked by Dacoits in the Nizam's dominions was in 1863.

Exaggerated, too, for political purposes are, I believe, in great measure the apprehensions raised with respect to the native armies. Whatever may be the nominal number of men under arms in the various States, I feel no hesitation in saying that it represents but a very small body of really efficient soldiers ; and though, in the case of a new mutiny of the Imperial troops, Holkar or Scindia might be able to assert themselves as military powers, under other circumstances they would not be formidable. Of the Nizam's troops I had some means of judging on the occasion of the installation ceremonies, when the best regiments were paraded at Hyderabad, and they seemed to me very remote from military efficiency. The Arab troops, of which so much is talked, are few of them true Arabs, being, on the contrary, nearly all the descendants only of Arabs by women of the country, and are far from remark-

able either for physique or energy ; while some of the regiments seemed more worthy of service on the boards of a provincial theatre than on the theatre of any serious war. It is, however, I believe, an object with the military authorities in India to keep up an impression of the force of these armies, so as to justify the existence of the British forces designed to hold them in check. The motive is a natural, and, from a purely military point of view, a laudable one, but it is one that the civil authorities would do well to take account of.

At the same time I am far from being, on principle, in favour of the native armies. They are an anomaly in the Imperial system, and might, under certain circumstances, become a danger. But I look upon the whole question of their recent increase and proposed reduction as one dependent on the loyalty quite as much of the Calcutta Government as of the princes themselves. As long as the Calcutta Government pursues its present policy of aggression on the native States, so long will these have every justification if they perfect the discipline of their forces and increase their armaments. Not, indeed, that they intend to wage even defensive war against the Imperial Government, but with the object of maintaining order so

absolute and beyond question in their territories that no excuse may be given for Imperial interference. Were it possible once thoroughly to reassure them on this point, I am of opinion that the princes themselves would not be unwilling to disarm ; but with the fear of organized aggression before their eyes it is idle to expect another conduct from them. Such, in any case, was a view I heard expressed by certain high personages connected with the Nizam's court, and I should be surprised to find that any other was entertained by the Mahratta princes, Holkar and Scindia. Those ancient rivals are no longer the enemies they were to each other twenty years ago, and they have abandoned any design they may once have had of flying at each other's throats. "Defence, not defiance," is, I feel sure, their motto and the explanation of any military energy they may be displaying.

That the policy of the Calcutta Foreign Office is really one of organized aggression with a view to annexation, no one who has been at all behind the scenes for the last ten years can affect to doubt. Individual viceroys may be entirely opposed to such schemes, but the Foreign Office holds its own against the best of them ; and the policy of aggres-

sion continues, intermittently perhaps, but surely, in British India just as in Central Asia by the Russians. It is the work of the official body, civil and military, who see in every addition of territory a new field for their energy and a new opening for promotion, employment, and pay. Thus the native States are not allowed to rest, or the princes to feel that confidence in the Imperial Government and sense of security which alone could divert their attention wholly from their defences. The history of systematic official encroachment in India, if it could be told in all its details by publishing the Calcutta Foreign Office records, would be one of the most scandalous the diplomatic annals of any country could show. The full record is, I fancy, never laid bare even to the most belligerent viceroy, and the general public of course only here and there catch glimpses of its action. Still, enough is known outside the official world to make it no hazardous assertion that such is the case; and in my own instance I am enabled to speak with more certainty on the ground of facts which at Hyderabad came within my own cognizance. Nor do I think that I can do better, with the object of setting the question of the native States in its true light, than by giving a short account of

the history of this particular one, and of the more recent development of the Imperial policy towards it.

The Hyderabad State is the remnant, much reduced, of the old viceroyalty of the Deccan. Declared an independent principality in 1724, it became during the latter half of the last century the scene of rival intrigues between the French and English commercial companies, and only came definitely under British protection in the year 1800. At that date one of the old leonine treaties was made by Lord Wellesley with the Nizam, in virtue of which a force of the East India Company's troops was quartered on the country at the country's expense. The internal affairs of the State were shortly after, and in defiance of the treaty which had guaranteed the absolute independence of the Nizam, put under the management of a British Resident, whose orders seem to have been precisely what Sir Evelyn Baring's have been for the last year at Cairo, that is to say, to assume the whole management of the Government, while repudiating all responsibility for results. Nor were these at Hyderabad at all different from those we are witnessing in Egypt. Unable to find honest men willing to accept the position of mere tools in his

hands for the Company's profit, the Resident was constantly reduced to employing native agents the worst and least scrupulous the country afforded. Peculation and disorder of every kind were tolerated on the sole condition of loyalty to the Company's interests ; places for Englishmen were multiplied ; fortunes were accumulated ; and the Resident himself, corrupted by the atmosphere of vice he had encouraged, ended by sharing the general demoralization. The Nizam, on his side, reduced to impotence, and deprived of consideration, power, or responsibility, retired from the scene in dudgeon to his palace, whence for many years he hardly issued, and where he spent his days ingloriously in such pleasures as his wealth afforded. If he reappeared at all in public, it was in connection with some intrigue which still further condemned him ; and thus, infected like a caged leopard with the moral sores of captivity and inaction, he dozed his life away. Fifty years of this *régime* completed the ruin of Hyderabad politically, morally, and financially, and prepared the way for that last act of all Indian political dramas, the annexation of the State.

The then Resident, Colonel Low, writing officially to Calcutta, thus describes the financial position in

1853. "The pecuniary affairs," he writes, "of this Government are in a worse condition now than they have ever been since the treaty of 1800. The Nizam then had large private treasures, and the amount of his debt was trifling. His Highness's treasures have been since almost entirely exhausted. The debt now amounts to three and a half crores, a large portion of which consists of arrears of pay long due to troops and other public servants, who cannot be discharged for want of ready money wherewith to pay them off. Another large portion of the debt is due to sahukars, which is running at a ruinous rate of interest ; and upwards of forty-two lakhs are due to the British Government. The whole revenue of this State amounts to about a crore and fifty lakhs ; and as public credit is altogether unknown, a debt of that magnitude, with heavy interest accruing on it, presses most severely upon the Government, and causes a great ramification of evils throughout the country, the nature of which is too well known to render it of any use that I should expatiate on them."

The fact is, the whole country was in confusion. Besides two armies under English control, each noble kept a separate armed force, and faction fights were common even in the streets of Hy-

derabad. Dacoity, or highway robbery by armed bands exceeding forty men, was prevalent in the country districts. The State was in debt to the Arab chiefs, who claimed on that account immunity for their followers when they chose to disturb the peace. The courts of law were most corrupt, the collection of the revenue most irregular, and all the while the British Resident, though master of the forces of the State, looked on, lamenting officially, from time to time, the evil, and pleading his utter inability to control it. The third act of the drama, the annexation of the country, seemed to have begun for Hyderabad when, in the year already mentioned—1853—the East India Company seized Berar, the richest of the Nizam's provinces, for a debt due in connection with the pay of a second British army which had been quartered uselessly for fifty years upon the country, and claimed to hold and administer the same as material guarantee for future payments. Indeed, it can hardly be doubted that with Lord Dalhousie at Calcutta the end was then very near. Native misgovernment was the excuse everywhere for annexation, and what State was worse governed than Hyderabad? Two circumstances, however, prevented this consummation, and made the

recovery of the ruined State possible. The first was the accession, unsuspected at the time, of a native statesman of real genius to power; the second, the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny.

Salar Jung, the scion of an old noble family of Arabian descent for many generations in the service of the Nizams, was appointed diwan, or minister, in the year following the climax of Hyderabad's misfortunes—the seizure of Berar. He was only twenty-four years of age, and his appointment seems to have been made originally as that of a supple tool of the Company's policy. He was, in fact, large enough in his ideas to understand that English rule, with all its strength of organization and superior knowledge, must prevail against the spasmodic efforts of ignorant and disunited populations, and he honestly admired the qualities in Englishmen which had given them their power of command. This sympathy, which was unaffected, served as a cloak to his patriotism, a sentiment still deeper with him and more persistent than the other, and stood him in good stead when, in the first years of his administration, the Mutiny broke out, and he found himself for the first time in a position of real power towards the Company's servants. Then, instead of joining in the rebellion,

as the majority of the Hyderabad nobles urged him to do, he held it stoutly in check, and to such good effect that from first to last no serious outbreak occurred in the Nizam's country against the English. This loyal action gained him, on the conclusion of peace, Lord Canning's recognition and well-deserved English gratitude. It was admitted that the friendly attitude of the Deccan State had turned the balance of strength in favour of our forces, and Salar Jung's name became one high in honour both at Calcutta and in London. This was the minister's opportunity. Finding himself secure now of support from England (for the policy of annexation was discarded with the transfer of power from the Company), he threw all his energy into the task of reorganizing the Hyderabad Government, restoring the finances, and, as the ultimate ambition of his life, winning back out of pawn the mortgaged province of Berar.

It was a noble ambition, and one which, all but the crowning result, he lived to achieve. At the end of twenty years it would have been difficult to recognize the Hyderabad State, reorganized under Salar Jung's management, as the same State described so pitifully by Colonel Low. Order throughout had been restored ; Dacoity had ceased

to exist ; the trained bands of the nobles had been reduced ; the native army had been disciplined ; the administration of the law had been reformed ; the taxation had been made regular ; and, what is most of all astonishing, the finances had recovered their elasticity, and in place of debt the State treasury was in a position to show a large balance of ready money in hand. Hyderabad in a single generation, and by the efforts of a single man of genius, had cast off the slough of its captivity, and appeared now before the world not only a decent and well-governed, but even a model native State. English ideas in the meanwhile, and English interests, had lost nothing in the process ; and it may safely be affirmed that never had the Imperial influence been so strong in the Nizam's dominion as under Salar Jung's undivided management. Who would have thought that anything but an increasing meed of honour would be the English reward for so sublime a life ?

Such, however, was not to be the end of Salar Jung's career. The memory of the Mutiny and of the causes which produced it, having grown cold with Anglo-Indians, a recrudescence about ten years ago of the old aggressive policy began which has since grown in volume, and which is now dis-

playing itself in various ways, and notably in the cry of the day against the native armaments. Its first manifestation was, if I am not mistaken, the affair of Baroda, in which Lord Northbrook played so characteristically into the official hands, and which by its success gave courage to the party of action, and prepared the way for still more vigorous developments under his successors. Its occasion in Hyderabad was this.

In 1872 Salar Jung having reconstituted the State finances, and with a sufficient balance of ready money in hand, thought to crown the success of his administration by obtaining from the Indian Government the retrocession of Berar. In point of law it would seem he was wholly in his right, the cession having been made distinctly as a guarantee for sums he now was ready to deposit in cash at Calcutta. But the Indian Foreign Office had never contemplated any such possibility, and had come during its nineteen years of occupation to look upon the province as entirely and for ever its own. A purely British administration had been introduced there, and as the surplus revenue of Berar went by agreement to the Nizam's, not to the Imperial coffers, it had been very lightly taxed, and so had prospered exceedingly. At the same time it had

become a farm for the Anglo-Indian administration, which provided its members with some sixty highly paid places for the civil service, and formed an important field for their energy, promotion, and emoluments. This doubtless was the real crux of the situation ; and, pleading the extreme hardship there would be to the inhabitants of the province were they deprived of direct British rule, the claim for its retrocession was indignantly refused. The official body, however, recognizing the legal weakness of their position, were not a little alarmed, and the feeling was increased when Salar Jung shortly afterwards paid his visit to Europe. It was thought, rightly or wrongly, that the Minister on that occasion appealed from the decision of the India Office to certain high personages in London, and it was feared that he might make further appeals to the English public, which, such was his popularity, would probably have supported him. It became, therefore, a matter of policy at Calcutta to diminish Salar Jung's influence both at home and abroad ; and according to Indian official tradition, no scruple was allowed to stand in the way of its accomplishment. Salar Jung was suddenly, therefore, about the year 1877, found in official circles to be disloyal. He was in league, it was whispered, with the

enemies of British rule—with the Afghans, the Wahhabibis, the Russians. The semi-official press in India received the hint, and the news was repeated even in England. The Resident meanwhile at Hyderabad was busy in undermining the Minister's position there.

There are at Hyderabad two parties among the nobles, their Guelfs and Ghibellines, and it was not difficult to intrigue. Salar Jung represented the party of progress, of education, of modern thought, and liberal ideas. It was discovered that all these innovations were hateful to the people, and the Resident suavely represented to the Indian Government, who represented it to the India Office, that the Minister was become unpopular in the State. The Emir-el-Kebir, his rival, chief of the old-fashioned party, which in truth in Hyderabad was the party of all the vices, it was affirmed represented the real wishes of the country. It was not the place of the Imperial Government to impose an unpopular policy or support any longer an unpopular Minister. Salar Jung, therefore, was to have a partner in the administration, and that partner was to be none other than the Emir-el-Kebir. This was the thin end of the wedge, the lever by which the Resident was to regain his full

authority ; and to a great extent the plan succeeded. During the last few years of his life the Minister was constantly thwarted, threatened, and hindered in his work of reform by a colleague enjoying the Residency's support ; and though he battled bravely, and constantly scored points of advantage, he yet as constantly lost ground. On one occasion the Residency even went the length of planning his arrest and deportation from the country, and only an accident prevented this last indignity from being put in practice. It is necessary to understand that the Calcutta Foreign Office is even more absolutely without moral scruple than our own.

This was the state of things in Hyderabad when Lord Ripon came to India, and what follows is proof of the extreme difficulty with which even the most honourable viceroy can fulfil his duties when opposed by the organized official will. Lord Ripon's first act was to send for Salar Jung; to make him what amends he could for past indignities, and to promise him full support for the future. He was to be henceforth sole and supreme in authority till his young master, the Nizam, should come of age, and then hopes were held out that, as the final reward of all his services,

he should have the satisfaction of seeing the Berar province restored to its lawful owner. Salar Jung came back to Hyderabad a happy man, and set himself with new vigour to deserve such high confidence. But the Viceroy's honour was the last he was to receive at any man's hands. On the 8th of February, 1883, and within a year of the date of the Nizam's majority, the great Minister suddenly died.

I do not wish to appear in the light of any man's accuser in so grave a matter, but I am obliged to record a distinct impression from all that I heard at Hyderabad, and I cross-questioned persons well qualified to speak, that this was not a natural death. It was said to be due to cholera, but the symptoms were not those of cholera, and the collapse was too sudden and rapid to be easily attributable to any other natural disease. The English doctors called in only saw the patient in the last stage of his suffering, and they differed in their opinions, the one maintaining the cause to be cholera, the other demurring to this. Yet no inquest was made after death, and the doubt was put to no test. On the other hand, there was every reason in the state of political parties at Hyderabad to make foul play probable.

The traditional knowledge of poisoning, and what is doubtless the same thing under another name, witchcraft, is still extant among the old-fashioned families of the Deccan, and it was just these families who were most interested in the Minister's removal. The Residency intrigue was not the only one going on in the country, and Salar Jung's unpopularity was quite real as far as evil-doers were concerned. In any case the Minister's enemies were the persons who profited directly by his death; and this alone would justify suspicion. Neither, if foul play indeed there was, is it easy to acquit the Residency of all blame in the matter. The Residency for years past had given its countenance to the worst elements in Hyderabad political life, and Salar Jung's enemies must have known that his death would not be very gravely regretted at Calcutta. They may well have felt secure from vindictive pursuit; and the recent example of Egypt proves how readily the official encouragement of the bad element against the good in Oriental society generates crime. It is not with impunity that a power like England can give its political countenance to unscrupulous men.

Be this, however, as it may, Salar Jung died for all evil purposes in the nick of time; and the

accident of his death was seized upon by the Calcutta Foreign Office at once for the most vigorous action yet taken against the Hyderabad State. Under cover of the respectable name of an old Hindu nobleman, the Peshkar, who had been Salar Jung's friend, but was now in his senility, the party of reaction was put in full power and given a free rein to do what harm it pleased, without let or hindrance from the Resident, financially, politically, or in the business of administration. When I arrived at Hyderabad at the close of 1883, I found all Government business at a standstill, the employés unpaid, Salar Jung's trained administrators being dismissed, and a general scramble going on at the expense of the treasury both by Englishmen and natives. Lark Ali, Salar Jung's eldest son, a young man of great promise and imbued with his father's ideas, had indeed been given a place in the Government, but he was carefully excluded from any real power, and could only lament impotently the ruin of the State and the triumph of his father's enemies.

Nor was this by any means all. A truly infamous policy, worthy of the very worst traditions of the East India Company, was being pursued towards the young Nizam. As long as the great

Minister was alive no pains were spared to keep the Prince from those temptations which had been the ruin of his predecessors—the corruption of a life of pleasure and the sloth of the zenana. Now he was being encouraged in the ways of vice by men who saw in his ruin the most certain means for them of retaining power. I spare readers the details of what I learned on this head, for it is a history as disgraceful as any in Indian annals ; but the facts are beyond dispute, and the only doubt there can be is as to how far the Calcutta Foreign Office was responsible for the state of things it most certainly knew of. On this last point, though I refused at first to suppose it possible, there is, nevertheless, ample proof in the fact, to which I can vouch on my personal testimony, that no effort was being spared, either at Hyderabad or at head-quarters, to prolong the situation. The one object of every official with whom I conversed on the subject was to put off the majority of the Nizam for another two years, to keep things as they were, and to prevent Lord Ripon from inquiring personally into matters. While at Hyderabad I did not refrain from speaking to the Resident, Mr. Cordery, himself on the subject, and afterwards with the Calcutta officials,

and their language to me was, that they regretted the state of things, but that they had no choice but to support the present arrangement ; that the Nizam was too young to be released from tutelage ; and that Laik Ali would do far better by making friends with the new *régime* than by standing out against it. A "waiting game," I was assured, was his only policy. Yet what did that waiting game mean, except the financial ruin of the State and the moral ruin of its master ?

Fortunately Laik Ali did not wait. Plucking up courage, he appealed to Lord Ripon ; and Lord Ripon, to the horror of the official world, resolved himself to go to Hyderabad, where, having won the young Nizam's confidence, he speedily learned the truth. To the last prodigious efforts were made to throw dust in the Viceroy's eyes, the details of which were some of them most amusing. There was a scare of cholera raised, and the Viceroy's camp was fixed twelve miles from the city. It was given out that the Viceroy wished to see no one, and a kind of quarantine cordon was established. The camp itself was put in the enemy's keeping, and intimidation was to my knowledge used to prevent the Nizam speaking all his mind. A huge body-guard of officials

surrounded the Viceroy day and night, and to the last moment all the world believed that the Residency had triumphed. It seemed incredible that a single man, Governor-General though he was, should dare persist in an act of justice condemned by every counsellor. Yet this is what Lord Ripon did, and events have fully justified him.

The last scene of the drama was one of the most striking—I may say also the most touching—I ever witnessed. On the morning of the Nizam's installation, which the Viceroy persisted should be at once, it was not even yet known who was to be minister; and it was only when the poor Peshkar, the stalking-horse of the intrigue, found his seat by the throne occupied, and young Laiq Ali there wearing a yellow turban, the Nizam's colour for the day, that it was understood that indeed right for once had triumphed over wrong, and that the Hyderabad State was saved. It was a moment to remember as long as one lived, and I shall never forget the feelings with which I listened to the Viceroy's speech—I might have called it a sermon—to the young prince whom he had just placed on the Musnad. It affected many besides myself, and even the official world for the moment bowed to the superior power of virtue.

Nor was this a transitory victory only. A few days later the Nizam publicly announced to the world his intention of adopting a different life from any his predecessors had lived. He left his zenana in the city, and taking up his residence with a single wife in a smaller palace outside, set himself to acquire the arts of government in earnest; and as I see that his young Minister, Lark Ali, is now Sir Salar Jung, and that the Nizam himself is about to receive the Star of India from Lord Ripon's successor, we may feel some confidence that the intention has been kept. Occasional reports of the old sort come, indeed, from Hyderabad, but we may be pretty sure that these are only the final splutter of last year's conflagration, and that if Lord Dufferin continues in Lord Ripon's footsteps no more real trouble need be recorded in the Deccan. One thing, however, the official world has gained, and this, I suppose, has helped them to accept their defeat cheerfully. The Berar province, in spite of Lord Ripon, remains, with its sixty paid places, in their hands, the prize for which they fought.

The moral of this tale—which I beg honest English readers to believe I have not exaggerated, for I have omitted the most scandalous details—

is this. The native States, with their "excessive armaments," their "hot-beds of intrigue," and their "disloyalty," if they are lions in the Imperial path, have become so by our own misconduct, and will so remain until we change our methods. Hyderabad a year ago was probably the most disloyal town in India; now it is probably the most loyal, and all through a little honest dealing and a little viceregal sympathy. The truth is, honesty in the Indian "political department" is a thing enormously wanted; and I will venture to say that if that powerful body will only mend its ways, and treat the native States on the same moral principles of straightforwardness and respect for right which each member of the Department doubtless acknowledges in his own private life, we shall hear no more of disloyalty, and the work of disarmament, if it be required, will be one voluntarily accomplished. Till then, however, we must expect storms—and storms, alas! are the element on which the Anglo-Indian thrives. Still, let us hope for the best.*

* Since this chapter was published in the *Fortnightly Review* I have been in correspondence with my friend Sir Alfred Lyall regarding it; and I feel bound to record his protest against the account it contains of the Calcutta Foreign Office as having a policy of organized aggression on the Native States. He informs me that,

on the contrary, the Calcutta Foreign Office has no policy of its own, but "is distinctly directed by the individuals, the Viceroy and his Foreign Secretary, from time to time in office;" and that it is these, and not the permanent officials at Calcutta, who, from Lord Dalhousie downwards, have been responsible for foreign policy. The Foreign Office, he assures me, has never advocated Indian annexations.

CHAPTER V.

THE FUTURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

“The abortion from which she suffereth
Is Liberty stricken to death.”

UNLESS I have wholly failed to make my reasoning clear, readers of these essays will by this time have understood that, in answer to the question propounded at the outset of this inquiry—namely, whether the connection between England and India is of profit to the Indian people; and to the further question whether the Indian people regard it as of profit—I have come to conclusions on the whole favourable to that connection.

My argument, in a few words, has been this: seeking the balance of good and evil, I have found, on the one hand, a vast economic disturbance, caused partly by the selfish commercial policy of the English Government, partly by the no less selfish expenditure of the English official class.

I have found the Indian peasantry poor in some districts to starvation, deeply in debt, and without

the means of improving their position ; the wealth accumulated in a few great cities and in a few rich hands ; the public revenue spent to a large extent abroad, and by an absentee Government. I have been unable to convince myself that the India of 1885 is not a poorer country, take it altogether, than it was a hundred years ago, when we first began to manage its finances. I believe, in common with all native economists, that its modern system of finance is unsound, that far too large a revenue is raised from the land, and that it is only maintained at its present high figure by drawing on what may be called the capital of the country, namely, the material welfare of the agricultural class—probably, too, the productive power of the soil. I find a large public debt, and foresee further financial difficulties.

Again, I find the ancient organization of society broken up, the interdependence of class and class disturbed, the simple customary law of the East replaced by a complicated jurisprudence imported from the West, increased powers given to the recovery of debt, and consequently increased facilities of litigation and usury. Also great centralization of power in the hands of officers daily more and more automatons and less and

less interested in the special districts they administer. In a word, new machinery replacing, on many points disadvantageously, the old. I do not say that all these things are unprofitable, but they are not natural to the country, and are costly out of proportion to their effect of good. India has appeared to me at best in the light of a large estate which has been experimented on by a series of Scotch bailiffs, who have all gone away rich. Everything is very scientific, very trim, and very new, especially the bailiff's own house; but the farms can only be worked now by skilled labourers and at enormous expense; while a huge capital has been sunk, and the accounts won't bear looking into.

On the other side, I have found an end put to the internecine wars of former days, peace established, security for life given, and a settled order of things on which men can count. I have never heard a native of India underrate the advantage of this, nor of the corresponding enfranchisement of the mind from the bondage in which it used to lie. A certain atmosphere of political freedom is necessary for intellectual growth. Where men were liable to fine, imprisonment, and death for their opinions there could be no general advance

of ideas, and the want of personal liberty had for centuries held India in mental chains. No one had dared to think more wisely than his fellows, or, doing so, had speedily been stopped by force from teaching it to others. But under English rule, with all its defects, thought has been free, and men who dared to think have kept their heads, so that a generation has sprung up to whom liberty of opinion has seemed natural, and with it has come courage. The Indians in the towns are now highly educated, write books, found newspapers, attend meetings, make tours of public lectures, think, speak, and argue fearlessly, and an immense revival of intellectual and moral energy has been the result. It is not a small thing, again, that the gross licence of the old princely courts has given place to a more healthy life—that crime in high places is no longer common ; that sorcery, poisoning, domestic murder, and lives of senseless depravity are disappearing ; that the burning of widows has been abolished, and child-marriage is now being agitated against. These things are distinct gains, which no candid Englishman, any more than do the candid natives, would dream of underrating. And, as I have said before, they supply that element of hope which contains in it

a germ of redemption from all other evils. This is the "per contra" of gain to be set in the balance against India's loss through England.

It would, therefore, be more than rash for Indian patriotism to condemn the English connection. Nor does it yet condemn it. There is hardly, I believe, an intelligent and single-minded man in the three Presidencies who would view with complacency the prospect of immediate separation for his country from the English Crown. To say nothing of dangers from without, there are dangers from within well recognized by all. The Indians are no single race ; they profess no one creed, they speak no one language ; highly civilized as portions of their society are, it contains within its borders portions wholly savage. There are tribes in all the hills still armed with spear and shield, and the bulk of the peaceful agricultural population is still in the rudest ignorance. The work of education is not yet complete, or the need of protection passed. All recognize this, and with it the necessity for India still of an armed Imperial rule. Were this withdrawn, it is certain at least that the present civilized political structure could not endure, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether any other could be found to take its place. I do

not myself see in what way the issue of a rupture could be made profitable to the Indian nations, nor do I understand that the exchange from English to another foreign rule would improve their condition.

At the same time I recognize that it is impossible the present condition of things should remain unchanged for more than a very few years. For reasons which I have stated, the actual organization of Anglo-Indian government has become hateful to the natives of India, and however much their reason may be on the side of patience, there is a daily increasing danger of its being overpowered by a passionate sentiment evoked by some chance outbreak. Nor do I believe that it will be again possible for England to master a military revolt, which would this time have the sympathy of the whole people. Moreover, even if we should suppose this fear exaggerated and the evil day of revolt put off, there is yet the certainty of a Government by force becoming yearly more costly and more difficult to carry on. It is a mistake to suppose that India has ever yet been governed merely by the English sword. The consent of the people has always underlain the exercise of our power, and were this generally

withdrawn it could not be maintained an hour. At present the Indian populations accept English rule as, on the whole, a thing good for them, and give it their support. But they do not like it, and were they once convinced that there was no intention on the part of the English people to do them better justice and give them greater liberty than they have now, they might without actual revolt make all government impossible. We have had a foretaste of what passive obstruction can do in Egypt, and the art may well spread to India. It cannot be too emphatically stated that our Indian administration exists on the goodwill of the native employés.

Lastly, without being alarmists, or seeing anything immediately dangerous in Russian or other plots, we must be prepared to see India yearly become less closely sealed a land. Nothing is more certain than that inimical European thought, if not European diplomacy, will busy itself with the disaffection of our Indian fellow-subjects if they become disaffected, and will encourage them to resistance, and will point out the means and the opportunity. Russia, the friend to India, the professed liberator of the Indian serf, the ally, let us suppose, of the Sultan and protector of Islam,

would be no inconsiderable embarrassment to Imperial finance, not to say danger, if appearing on the Indian border. For all these reasons it behoves us surely not to drive Indian feeling into lines wholly hostile to us. It is too great a risk, too great a waste of power. This has been my argument in favour of reform.

But what then, in effect, should that reform be, and towards what ultimate goal should reformers look in shaping their desires and leading the newly awakened thought of India towards a practical end? While I was at Calcutta I attended a series of meetings at which this question was put in all its branches, and at which delegates from all parts of India discussed it fully; and in what I am now going to say I can therefore give, with more or less accuracy, the native Indian view of Indian needs. Many matters of social importance were debated there, many suggestions made of improvements in this and that department of the administration, and the financial and economic difficulties found their separate exponents; but it was easy to remark that, while all looked forward to the realization of their special hopes, none seemed to consider it possible that any real change would be effected as long as what may be called the constitution of the

Indian Government remained what it now is. The burden of every argument was, "No reform is possible for us until the Indian Government is itself reformed. It is too conservative, too selfish, too alien to the thoughts and needs of India, to effect anything as at present constituted ; and just as in England reformers at the beginning of this century looked first to a reform of Parliament, so must Indian reformers now look first to a reform of the governing body of the country." Constitutional changes are needed as an initial step towards improvement ; and it is the strong opinion of all that nothing short of this will either satisfy Indian hopes or ward off Indian troubles.

The Indian Government as at present constituted is a legacy from days when the advantage of the natives of India was not even in name the first object with its rulers. Its direct ancestor, the East India Company, was a foreign trade corporation which had got possession of the land, and treated it as a property to be managed for the exclusive advantage of its members, either in the form of interest on the Company's capital, or of lucrative employment for relatives and friends of the shareholders. The advantage of the natives was not considered, except in so far as their prosperity

affected that of the Company ; and in early days there was no pretence even of this. India was a rich country, and for many years was held to be an inexhaustible mine of wealth, and was treated without scruple as such. Nor was it till the trial of Warren Hastings that any great scandal arose or any serious check was put to the greediness of all concerned. The directors in London, and their servants in the three Presidencies, had a common object of making money, and the only differences between them were as to the division of profits, while all alike grew rich.

The government of the country was then vested in a Board of Directors sitting at the India House, and delegating their executive powers to a civil service of which they themselves had in most instances been originally members, and whose traditions and instincts they preserved. It was a bureaucracy pure and simple, the most absolute, the closest, and the freest of control that the world has ever seen ; for, unlike the bureaucracies of Europe, it was subject neither to the will of a sovereign nor to public opinion in any form. Its selfishness was checked only by the individual good feeling of its members, and any good effected by it to others than these was due to a certain

traditional largeness of idea as to the true interests of the Company. It was only on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's charter that any interference could be looked for from the English Parliament and public; and so it continued until the Mutiny.

In 1858, however, the Company as a Company came to an end. The Board of Directors was abolished, dividends ceased to be paid to owners of Indian stock, and the Government of India was transferred nominally to the English Crown. At that time there was a great talk of reforming the system of administration, and it was publicly announced that India should for the future be governed in no other interest than its own. A royal proclamation gave the natives of British India their full status as British subjects; they were no longer to be disqualified for any function of public trust, and no favour was to be shown to English rather than to native interests in the Imperial policy. The programme was an excellent one, and was received in India with enthusiasm, and caused a real outburst of loyalty to the English Crown which has hardly yet subsided. Its only fault, indeed, has been that it has never been carried out, and that while the Indians have waited

patiently the plan has been defeated in detail by vested interests too strong for the vacillating intentions either of the Government which designed the change, or of any that have succeeded it. In spite of all official announcements and statements of policy, and royal proclamations, the principle of Indian government remains what it has always been—that is to say, government in the interests of English trade and English adventure. The more liberal design has faded out of sight.

The explanation of so great a failure I believe is this. When the sovereign power was transferred from the Company to the Crown, it was considered convenient to preserve as far as possible the existing machinery of administration. The East India Company had formed a civil service composed of its own English nominees, whose interests had gradually become part and parcel of the general interest of the concern; and they had obtained rights under covenant which secured them in employment, each for his term of years, and afterwards in pension. These rights the English Government now recognized, and the same covenant was entered into with them as had formerly been granted by the Company, and thus a vested interest in administration was perpetuated which

has ever since impeded the course of liberal development.

The only real change introduced in 1858 was to substitute appointment by examination for appointment by nomination ; but the composition of the service has remained practically the same, and the English covenanted civilian is still, as he was in the days of the Company, the practical owner of India. His position is that of member of a corporation, irremovable, irresponsible, and amenable to no authority but that of his fellow-members. In him is vested all administrative powers, the disposal of all revenue, and the appointment to all subordinate posts. He is, in fact, the Government, and a Government of the most absolute kind.

But the covenanted Civil Service is also a wholly conservative body. Composed though it may be admitted to be in large part of excellent and honest men—men who do their duty, and sometimes more than their duty—it has nevertheless the necessary vice of all corporations. Its first law is its own interests ; its second only those of the Indian people. Nor is it casting a reflection on its members to state this. There has never been found yet a body of men anxious to benefit

the world at large at the expense of its own pocket; and the Indian Civil Service, which is no exception to the rule, sees in all reform an economy of its pay, a curtailment of its privileges, and a restriction of its field of adventure. Such a service is of its very nature intolerant of economy and intolerant of change.

When, therefore, I say, in common with all native reformers, that the first reform of all in India must be a reform of its covenanted Civil Service, I am advocating primarily the removal of an obstruction. But the covenanted service is also at the present day an anachronism and an entirely needless expense. Fifty, and forty, and even twenty-five years ago, it may have been necessary to contract on extravagant terms and for life with Englishmen of education, in order to obtain their services in so remote a country as India then was. Such men a generation ago were comparatively rare, and the India House, and after it the India Office, may have been right in establishing a special privileged service for its needs, and in granting the covenants it made with them. But modern times have altered all this, and now the supply of capacity is so great that quite as good an article can be obtained without any

covenant at all. The commercial companies have all long ago abandoned the old idea, and get their servants for India now as for other parts of the world, in the open market; nor do they find the quality inferior because they enter into no lifelong engagements with them. And so also the Indian Government must do in times to come if it is to keep its head financially above water. It is altogether absurd at the present day to contract with men on the basis of their right to be employed and pensioned at extravagant rates as long as they live. It is not done in the English diplomatic service, whose duties are somewhat similar, nor in any other civil service that I know of. I feel certain that as good Englishmen could be obtained now at a third of the pay, and without any further covenant than the usual one of employment during good behaviour, as are now at the present rates and under the present conditions. If not, it would be far better to dispense with English service altogether, except in the highest grades, and employ natives of the country at the lower rates, which would still be high rates to them. The excessive employment of Englishmen has been a growth of comparatively recent date, and is working harm in every way.

Instead of the covenanted Civil Service, therefore, there would be an uncovenanted service obtained in the open market, and endowed with no more special privileges than our services at home. The members of this would then be under control and, in a true sense of the word, the servants of the State. Now they are its masters.

That they are its masters has been abundantly proved by the success of their efforts to thwart Lord Ripon's policy during the last three years. Lord Ripon came out to India on the full tide of the Midlothian victory, and quite in earnest about carrying out Midlothian ideas; nor has he faltered since. But the net result of his vice-royalty has been almost *nil*. Every measure that he has brought forward has been defeated in detail; and so powerful has the Civil Service been that they have forced the Home Government into an abandonment, step by step, of all its Indian policy. This they have effected in part by open opposition, in part by covert encouragement of the English lay element, in part by working through the English press. When I arrived in India I found Lord Ripon like a schoolboy who has started in a race with his fellows and who has run loyally ahead, unaware as yet that these have

stopped, and that all the world is laughing at his useless zeal. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy had shown itself his master in spite of Midlothian.

But if the covenanted Civil Service is an obstructive and burdensome legacy from the defunct Company, so too is the constitution of the Indian Government in London. In 1858, when the Company came to an end, the India House was replaced by the India Office, and the Board of Directors by the Indian Council: a change which was doubtless intended to signify much, but which in practice has come to signify hardly anything at all. The India Office represents of necessity the traditions of the past, and the Council, which was designed to check it, has proved a more conservative and acquiescent body than even the old Board of Directors, its prototype and model. The reason of this is obvious. The Council, composed as it is almost exclusively of retired civil or military servants, views Indian matters from the point of view only of the Anglo-Indian service. It is even less amenable than this is to the influence of new ideas, and is more completely out of touch with modern native thought. Its experience is always that of a generation back, not of the present day, and it refuses, more per-

sistently even than the younger generation in active service, to admit the idea of change.

Thus the Secretary of State, who is dependent on this blind guide, is in no other position at home than is the Viceroy in India. Ignorant, as a rule, of all things Indian, and dependent for advice on the India Office and his Anglo-Indian Council, he never gets at the truth of things, and blunders blindly on as they direct. It is almost impossible for him, however robust his will, to hold his own as a reformer.

The reforms, therefore, at home and in India which native opinion most strongly and immediately demands are, as regards India, that the active Civil Service should be remodelled, by the abolition of all covenants for lifelong employment, and by the liberal infusion of native blood into the non-covenanted service. It is proposed that as vacancies occur a certain proportion—say a third or a fourth—should be reserved exclusively for men of Indian birth, and that thus by degrees the whole Civil Service, with the exception of the highest posts, should become indigenous. Also, as regards the Government at home, that the Secretary of State for India should have the advice of native as well as Anglo-Indian retired officials

on his Council in London. Until this is done they consider that the Government of India will continue to be carried on in the dark, and thus that reform will remain as hitherto, abortive.

It is obvious, however, that such initial changes are a first step only in the direction of reforms infinitely more important. What India really asks for as the goal of her ambitions is self-government—that is to say, that not merely executive but legislative and financial power should be vested in the native hands. At present the legislative authority of each Presidency resides in the Governor in Council, and there is no system whatsoever of popular representation, even of the most limited kind. The Councils are composed wholly of nominees, and, except in very small measure, of English official nominees, and their functions are limited to consultation and advice, for they are without any real power of initiative or even of veto. In each of these Councils a few natives have been given places, but they are in no sense representatives of the people, being on the contrary, nominees of the Government, chosen specially for their subservience to the ideas of the Governor of the day; and their independence is effectually debarred by the further check that their

appointment is for three years only, and reversible at the end of such period by the simple will of the Governor. All the other members—and they form the large majority—are English civil or military officers, who look to appointments on the Councils as the prizes of their service, and who usually represent the quintessence of official ideas. Lord Ripon, indeed, took pains to get together men of a liberal sort in his own supreme Council; but as a rule those who enjoy this position are anxious only to secure reappointment at the end of their three years' term. Thus, instead of representing the ideas current among the native classes from which they spring, they serve only as an echo or chorus to the Governor, or to the permanent officials who sway the Governor. This is not a healthy condition of things. The remedy should be, as a first condition, that the native councillors should be elected by the various classes of the community, and that their tenure of office should be made independent of the Governor's pleasure. The system has for years been practised with full success in Ceylon, where each section of the native community elects its representative to the Council, and where in consequence considerable courage and initiative have been infused into that body. In

India I am convinced that the system would work with equally good results ; and if also the number of councillors were increased and their powers of debate and interpellation enlarged, an excellent basis would be laid for what all Indian reformers look to as the ideal of their hopes, provincial parliaments. That India is unfit for local parliamentary institutions of at least a rudimentary kind I cannot at all admit. Indeed it seems to me that few people would profit more rapidly from a public discussion of public affairs than the temperate conservative Hindoos. For a while, indeed, it would doubtless be necessary, as in Ceylon, to retain a large English element in their councils, but the Indian mind educates itself with great rapidity, and in another generation they might probably without danger be entrusted with the sole care of their own domestic legislation, and the sole control of their finances.*

At the same time, I would not be understood as advocating for India anything in the shape of an Imperial parliament. Empires and parlia-

* I find I am in error with regard to the native Members of Council in Ceylon. Sir Arthur Gordon informs me that they, like the rest in India, are Government nominees. The wishes of the community, however, are generally consulted, and their independence is assured them by their being named for life.

ments to my mind have very little in common with each other; and India is far too vast a continent, and inhabited by races far too heterogeneous, to make amalgamation in a single assembly possible for representatives elected on any conceivable system. Possibly in the dim future some such thing might be, but not in the lifetime of any one now living, and any attempts of the sort at present would find for themselves the inevitable fate of the Tower of Babel. The Imperial power should, on the contrary, if it is to be effective, remain in the hands of a single man; and instead of weakening the Viceroy's authority I would rather see it strengthened. But with the provinces and for all provincial affairs, self-government is a growing necessity, and the present age is quite capable of witnessing it in practice.

The crying need of India is economy, and for this the decentralization of finance is the only cure. Each province should have its own budget and its own civil lists, which should be voted annually by the Council of the province. Its civil service should be its own, its police its own, and its public works its own, without any right of interference from Calcutta, or any confusion of provincial with Imperial accounts. At present, from the vastness

of the country ruled and the variety of Imperial services which have their seat at Calcutta or Simla, waste and jobbery receive no adequate check. Places are multiplied, men without local knowledge are employed, and the accounts are confused. Supervision by those who bear the burdens of taxation under such a system is all but impossible, and no one knows precisely how and why the expenses charged in the general budget are incurred. But, were the provincial accounts held strictly separate, and subjected to the inquisition of a local assembly composed of men who, as natives of the province, would know the needs and capabilities of the province, none of the present abuses would have a chance of surviving. With the best will in the world, the heads of departments at Calcutta cannot really control the details of expenditure in Madras or the Punjab, and as a matter of fact there is everywhere enormous waste and enormous jobbery.

I should like, therefore, to see each province of India entirely self-managed as regards all civil matters, raising its own revenue in its own way, providing for its own needs of internal order, public works, and administration of all kinds, and controlled by the constant supervision of its own provincial assembly. In this way it would be

possible to differentiate at once between the various provinces as to their special needs and the composition of their special services. In some the expenditure, and with it the taxation, might be at the outset reduced by the employment almost entirely of native servants ; in others the substitution of native for English service would have to be more gradual. In some, large public works might be profitably afforded ; in others, economy would have to be the rule. In all there would be an incentive to reduce unnecessary expenditure, seeing that the burden of providing for it would fall directly on the province.

On the other hand it is clear that, as long as India remains under the protection of England, certain charges on the revenue and certain executive and legislative functions would have to remain Imperial. These would be, first, charges and responsibilities in respect of the army and navy ; secondly, the diplomatic relations ; thirdly, the general debt ; and fourthly, the customs.

With regard to the army, there can be no doubt that the charge should be an Imperial one, for though Southern India has little need of troops to preserve order within her borders, she enjoys, in common with the North, that immunity from

invasion which the army alone can guarantee, and she should have an equal share of the burden of its cost. To adopt a system of provincial armies would, in my view of the case, be both a mistake of economy, and an injustice to those provinces which lie upon the frontier, as well as a considerable danger from the rivalries they might engender: a mistake of economy, inasmuch as the higher commands would be multiplied, and the less war-like provinces would at an equal cost provide inferior material to the general strength of the empire; an injustice, inasmuch as the North-Western provinces would have to bear nearly the entire burden of defence. Strongly, therefore, as I advocate decentralization in all matters of civil administration, I as strongly advocate centralization in matters military. The Imperial army, according to my ideas, should be under the sole control of the Viceroy, officered, I think, by Englishmen, and composed of the best fighting material to be obtained in India, irrespective of prejudice in favour of this or that recruiting ground. It is manifestly the first condition of an army that it should be efficient, and the second that it should be without political colour, and on both grounds I am inclined to think that Englishmen would

prove more useful servants to India in a military capacity than any native class of officers could be. Much as I believe in Indian capacity for civil duties, I accept it as a fact that Englishmen make better commanders of troops, and are worth more even in proportion to their superior pay ; while there is no question that they would be exempt, as native officers would not, from religious and caste influences, and thus more reliable as impartial executors of Imperial orders. The Indian Sepoy army, then, as I would see it, should be as distinctly Imperial and English as the civil services should be provincial and native. In saying this I am stating my private opinion only ; I believe that native opinion is in favour of native military service. But, as I understand India, the time has not come for that. When India is a nation it will be time enough to think of a national army.

The diplomatic relations, again, of India must of necessity remain Imperial, and their management vested solely in the Viceroy. Indian diplomacy, as at present managed, is a complicated and costly thing ; but in the India of the future we may hope this will be much simplified. Two cardinal points of policy might with advantage be observed : the first, to keep wholly apart from foreign intrigues

and foreign wars ; the second, to keep rigid faith with the still independent native princes within the border. Of foreign wars India has long had enough, and more than enough. The Chinese, the Persian, the Afghan, the Abyssinian, the Egyptian, and now the Soudanese, all these India has been forced to take part in, sorely against her interest and her will. Apart from their money loss, there is in these wars a loss of dignity, which the Indian people are beginning to resent. Those who have been educated in the humane literature of Europe find it humiliating that they, a conquered people, should be used as the instrument for conquering others. What quarrel had India with the unfortunate Egyptians ? What quarrel has she with the unfortunate Arabs ? The educated Indians resent it bitterly, too, that India is made to pay the cost. But these things need no comment. They are but a part of that absolute selfishness which has been the principle of all our past relations with India, and in the new birth of India these too must be changed. The diplomatic relations with the native States have been a tissue of fraud and aggression. In the policy of the future, aggression must be abandoned. There is but one true policy towards the native States ; and that is, by giving them the spectacle of

a British India more happy than their own to invite their inhabitants to share its advantages. Who can doubt that were India self-governed, prosperous, and happy, the old native principalities would one by one spontaneously be merged in it.

With regard to the Debt, much as we may regret that it was ever incurred, it must remain, I fear, in our new India a charge on the Imperial Government. Its annual interest, like the cost of war and diplomacy, should be apportioned as a fixed charge to each province in proportion to that province's wealth, except in so far as it relates to the guarantees of railways, which might be made a charge on the provinces served by them. It should, however, be a cardinal point of policy that no further debt should be incurred and no further guarantees given for Imperial works. The provinces henceforth should be charged with all works of communication, irrigation, and improvement, the utility of which they will best appreciate.

Remain the Customs. These too must remain an Imperial matter; and it may be hoped that when, in the future, India's interest, not England's, comes to be considered in her government, they may be made to return a fair profit to balance some of the Imperial charges. To India free

trade has proved no blessing, and a return to import duties is a first principle of sound finance, which self-governing India will undoubtedly insist on. The majority, I believe, of our English colonies see their advantage in these, and so will India, unless, indeed, some fair equivalent be given. As it is, all the profit is on England's side, on India's all the loss.

Such, very briefly and imperfectly given, is my scheme of self-government for India. That it is one possible—I do not say easy—to realize few will doubt who have marked the wonderful success achieved in a case not very dissimilar nearer our own shores. The Empire of Austria, within the recollection of men of the present generation, was a bureaucratic despotism of the harshest and least sympathetic kind. It had got within its rule, by conquest or inheritance, a half score of nations, owning no ties of birth or language, and united only by a common hatred of their oppressors. The Austrian official of 1847 was a bye-word of arrogance and self-sufficient pride, and while vaunting to the world the virtues of his own method of rule, was preparing the way for a general revolt against the Empire. Few who watched the history of those days believed that Austria was not doomed

to perish, and none that she was destined to achieve the love of her people. Yet we have lived to see this. We have lived to see the Hungarians reconciled, and the very Poles who in their despair had filled Europe for fifty years with their denunciations, thanking Austria for her share in their ruin. If this has been possible through the gift of self-government, all things are possible ; and India by the same means of honest government, each province for itself, may become happy and thankful, as the Austrian nations have. One principle keeps these together without force, their loyalty to the wearer of the Imperial crown ; and fortunately this is a principle we have in India already framed to our hand. There is no question that the Indian populations are possessed with a strong feeling of personal attachment for her Majesty the Queen, and while they grow yearly more and more estranged from their Anglo-Indian masters they yearly look with more and more hope to England and to her who sits upon the English throne. This is a sentiment of the utmost value, and one which may yet prove the salvation of the Indian Empire, in spite of all the Anglo-Indians can do to wreck it. I look to it in the future as the true bond of union which shall retain for us

India, not as our inheritance, for it will not be ours to possess, but as a co-heir to our good fortunes. India will not then be lost to England, but will remain to us a far greater glory than now, because it will have become a monument of what we shall have been able to achieve for the benefit of others, not merely for ourselves.

I dare not, however, dwell too much upon this prospect. I know the huge perils which surround the birth of every new thing in the political world, and I know the unscrupulous rage of vested interests threatened. The interests of the Anglo-Indians stand stoutly in our way, and the interests of an ever more hungry commerce and an ever more pitiless finance. Commerce and finance find their gain in the present system. Manchester must be appeased before India can hope to live, and to stop suddenly the career of Indian extravagance would injure trade in many a North of England town. Debt in India unfortunately means dividends in Lombard Street; and so I dare not hope. I am tempted rather to quote as only too likely to prove true certain desponding words which I once heard uttered by General Gordon when, speaking of the prospect of reform in

India, he told me, "You may do what you will. It will be of no use. India will never be reformed until there has been there a new revolt." But what will that revolt be, and how will it leave our power of reformation ?

APPENDIX.

Crabbed Park, Sussex, September 1, 1883.

To the Honorary Secretary of the
British India Committee.

DEAR SIR,

I shall be most happy to join your Committee, and to allow my name to appear in your list as a supporter of Lord Ripon's Indian policy, which I understand to have the general approval of the Indian people. I am about to proceed to India, to ascertain, with more accuracy than is possible in England, what the real wants and wishes of that people are, and if I can be of service to the Committee during the winter, I beg you to command me.

It may not be out of place, in view of certain comments on my intended journey which have appeared in print, if I take this opportunity of explaining that my conception of our relations as Englishmen to India is identical with that published six years ago by Mr. Gladstone, and epitomized in the following words:—

“Our title to be in India depends on a first condition that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations; and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable.”

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS OF CEYLON TO MR. WILFRID BLUNT.

Colombo, October, 1883.

SIR,

It is with no ordinary words of congratulation and welcome that we, the Mohammedan inhabitants of Ceylon, would hail your advent to our shores. The intelligence, which reached us some time ago, of your projected visit to Ceylon awakened within us feelings of the warmest enthusiasm; for, by your travels in the Mohammedan countries during the last ten years, by your disinterested efforts to bring to light the grievances under which the Mohammedan population of those countries were labouring, and by your constant endeavours to draw attention to those grievances, with the view of bringing about the amelioration of the condition of the people towards whom your large-hearted sympathy has been so nobly drawn, you have endeared yourself to all the Mohammedans in the world, and especially to those who are now addressing you in words which, we trust, you will accept as words of genuine, fervent, and heartfelt welcome.

We cannot omit to advert to the singular magnanimity which led you to exert all the influence you possessed in saving the lives of the seven pashas who have been exiled to this land. In spite of much personal misrepresentation and inconvenience, you advocated measures of clemency; and to you, more than to any other Englishman, these unfortunate pashas are indebted for their spared lives. These noble qualities do as much honour to your head and heart as they do to the great nation to which it is your privilege to belong, and whom we honour in honouring you.

Before concluding, we would wish to say that your being an Englishman is calculated to exalt still further the exalted opinion already entertained by us of that nation, and to make us still more loyal to the Crown of England, and to her Majesty Queen Victoria, under whose sway we have been living as a happy and contented people.

We once more cordially welcome you to this country, and that you and your noble lady, who has been a fellow-worker in the good cause you have espoused, may enjoy long life, prosperity, and happiness, is the fervent prayer of

Your most devoted servants,

T. L. SINNE LEBBE MARIKAR HAJEAR,
PACKEER TAMBY SINNE LEBBE MARIKAR,
S. D. ISMAEL LEBBE MARIKAR-ALIM,
CADER SAIBOE ALLIA MARIKAR HAJEAR,
SINNE TAMBY LEBBENA MARIKAR,
C. L. W. YOOSOOF,
A. T. S. HANIFFA,
ABRAHIM DUDU,
MOHEMED LEBBE TAHHAR,
Etc., etc., etc.

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO MR. WILFRID
BLUNT BY THE MOHAMMEDAN COM-
MUNITY OF PATNA, JANUARY, 1884.

We, the Mohammedans of this part of the country, after sincere and hearty prayers for Lady Blunt and yourself, approach you on this occasion to give expression to our feelings of sincere gratitude which we cherish towards you. We are very gratified at the thought that in yourself we find a gentleman who has been to the land of our prophet, and that you are always ready to lend a helping hand to the people who profess Islamism. We here wish to acquaint you, sir, that our nation has no friend now, but the omnipotent Lord of all the earth and heaven. We have learnt the news with great pleasure and honest pride that you who are pleased to take an interest in us are of a very high position, and that the characteristics which adorn your noble self are world-wide, and that we are assured that the regard you are pleased to have for the Mussulmans is very kind and sincere.

Sir, you, on whom we look as our staunch friend and the light of our eyes, have impressed yourself upon our affections. When we heard of your intention to visit our city, we congratulated ourselves that the pleasantest wishes of our heart were about to be crowned. We were all eyes and ears to hear the cheering news of your arrival here. We thank our God for giving us the good fortune of meeting you here, and we need hardly add that our hearts have been more than satisfied. You have more than fulfilled our hope, and we now sincerely pray to God that He may give you and Lady Blunt every success in life, and that you may continue to take the same interest in our concerns.

WILLAYET ALI,
KAZI REZA HUSAIN,

And one hundred and thirty other signatures.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS OF ALLAHABAD TO MR. WILFRID BLUNT, JANUARY, 1884.

SIR,

We, the representatives of all the Mohammedans in the province of Allahabad, have come here to-day to welcome in your person one who has been distinguished by his good-will and his good work in their cause; and one who, being moved by pity to take a personal interest in the affairs of the poor Mohammedans, has, regardless of expense, made a long voyage in order to visit them. You have done much to show that we are loyal subjects of the English Government; and we also maintain the truth of this—that we are loyal, most loyal, subjects of the Empress of India, and that we give ourselves up entirely to her care. All who have studied the history of our religion are aware that we have never acted against it, but that, under the shade of the protection of the English Government, we have made progress in morality. So that we are full of good wishes for that Government, and we are ready to give to it all our possessions and our souls. You have written "The Future of Islam," and in defence of the Mohammedan religion, and with all our hearts we desire that it may ultimately be published in every language. If we have understood every detail of that work, we understand very well that it has given the advice to the British Government to take up the position of protector of the Mohammedan religion. You, honourable sir, being an Englishman, hold it to be your duty to assist the Government with your patriotic counsels; that is very clear, and we need not discuss it at great length.

We are of the very firm belief that we find another life in another world, in which God rewards or punishes ; and it is to aid those that hold that religion that you have laboured. You have also proved that this belief is no chimera ; and you have likewise explained, that this religion guides men's conduct in life, that it gives lessons of good character, that it teaches the laws of society and good fellowship and of just government. These truths you have forcibly exposed.

We do not differ from you in those opinions, and we say that the British Government, although of another creed, has with faith, generosity, and justice equitably favoured our religion, so that our hearts have remained in peace and full of gratitude towards that Government.

And lastly, we with great fervour thank you, and the great lady, who have endured all the troubles of the journey, and have laboured warmly for the success of the cause in partnership with her husband and assisting him. We can affirm that no one has shown such warmth and goodness of heart towards the Mohammedans. We are faithfully and gladly very grateful to Lady Anne Blunt, and we render thanks to God, who will reward her in another world, and we pray God that you may both be successful in your projects.

MOHAMMED HUSSAIN EL OMARI EL MOHER
EL ILLAHI,
SEYYID MOHAMMED AGA,
Etc., etc., etc.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS OF LUCKNOW, TO MR. AND LADY ANNE BLUNT, JANUARY, 1884.

SIR,

We, the representatives of the Mohammedans of Lucknow, have come to give you a cordial welcome. We know that your journey to this country has been undertaken solely with the view of remedying the pitiable condition of Mohammedan affairs, and of inducing the British Government to protect and assist the Mohammedans. You, a man of high position in England, have felt it your duty to promote good feeling and accord between the English Government and the Mohammedans, so as to ensure a solid amity. All Mohammedans, from the depth of their hearts, desire the maintenance of their religion; that is their first care. The English Government has given a large measure of liberty to the Mohammedan religion, which is allowed to follow its customs; and because it has done this, all the Mohammedans of India will assuredly remain very faithful subjects of the Empress Victoria. We humbly adopt your opinion (and that opinion is a very just one), that it is the duty of the English Government to protect the Mohammedan religion; and while that protection lasts, the Mohammedans will remain faithful to the Government, as one full of justice, while all the Mohammedans will gladly submit to and assist it.

We pray God that you may be successful in your endeavours. At the same time, we very greatly thank Lady Anne Blunt, who, with great sympathy for the Mohammedans, has undergone all the troubles of a long journey in order to take part in improving the state of our affairs,

which make the world weep. We will inscribe your name among the first of those who have laboured in the cause of the Mohammedans.

Lastly, we pray God that He will grant good health to you and to Lady Anne Blunt; we pray also that your work may prove successful, and that you may return with good results to your country.

SEYYID MOHAMMED IBRAHIM,
SEYYID ABU EL HASSAN,
MOHAMMED ABD EL HAI,
MOHAMMED ABD EL WAHHAB,
NIZAM ED DIN AHMED,
AHMED SAÏD,
MOHAMMED YAKUB,
HABIB HAÏDAR,
EMIR HASSAN, Rajah of Mahmudabad,
Etc., etc., etc.

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS OF ALIGARH, TO MR. WILFRID BLUNT, JANUARY, 1884.

SIR,

We, the representatives of all the Mohammedans of the province of Aligarh, have assembled here to give you welcome. It is impossible for us to express in words how deeply interested are our hearts in whatever concerns you. To represent our feelings in this matter is very difficult, for they are too strong to be satisfactorily translated into words; but we can say this—that your care for the progress of Mohammedan education, your good deeds, and your work will remain impressed in the grateful hearts of Mohammedans. It has given us great joy that you, a man of high position and of great talents, have undergone the fatigue of a long voyage in order to visit the College of Science in Aligarh; and we feel sure that you are satisfied with what you have seen of it. Assuredly, as you are aware, we Mohammedans are faithful and thankful subjects of the English Government, as one that has given us the freedom of our religion, and as a Government which is interested in our progress in education. And it is well that this college which you have seen remains under the protection of the Government.

We hope that your interest will not be confined merely to this school, but that it will be extended to the educational progress of all Mohammedans.

We are also humbly grateful to Lady Anne Blunt, who, with ardour and perseverance, labours in the cause of Mohammedan education.

Lastly, we pray God that He may put a crown of success on your labours.

KHOJA MOHAMMED ZUSUF,
MOHAMMED NABAB JEHANGIRABAD,
MOHAMMED ILLAHI BAKHSH KHAN,
MOHAMMED IKHRAM ULLAH,
MOHAMMED BAKIR ALI,
NUR MOHAMMED LUTF ALI KHAN,
KHOJA MOHAMMED ISMAÏL,
MOHAMMED AHMED,
MOHAMMED SHIBBILI NUMANI,
Etc., etc., etc.

ADDRESS PRESENTED AT A MEETING OF
THE ANJUMANI ISLAM OF BOMBAY, TO
MR. WILFRID BLUNT, ON FEBRUARY 27,
1884.

SIR,

May God ever pour His blessings upon you ! We, the members of the Mohammedan community of Bombay, are very glad that you have come to our country, and we take this opportunity of thanking you for the great work by which you have done so much with care and time towards ensuring the protection of the Mohammedans. The details of that work are well known to us.

The elevation of your character and your wisdom have led you to believe that the Mohammedans are not hostile to your race, and you have in consequence unceasingly supported the cause of the Mohammedans, and you are ever labouring to restore prosperity to them. This assuredly is a large generosity on your part, and you have a claim upon our gratitude. Among all the people of India our Mohammedan race has remained backward, and your counsels assisting us to make progress and to spread education are a proof of your high character.

It is a great boon to the Mohammedans that you thus labour for their advantage, and we thank you from the depth of our hearts, and we pray God that you may be ever successful in your endeavours ; while in the memory of Mohammedans your good work will ever remain impressed.

Names of those present.

Mr. Cumrudin Tyabjee, President.

„ Mohammed Ali Rogay, Vice-President.

The Hon. Mr. Budrudin Tyabjee (Secretary).

Mr. Moulvi Syed Abdul Fattah.
„ Moulvi Abdool Cader Jeetckar.
„ Moulvi Hidayatoola.
„ Syed Hisamuddin Rafai.
„ Hajee Moonshi Goolan Mohammed.
„ Sheyk Mohammed Curtay (Secretary).
Etc., etc., etc.

SPEECH ON THE EDUCATION OF MOHAMMEDANS, MADE BY MR. WILFRID BLUNT AT A MEETING OF THE MOHAMMEDAN RESIDENTS OF LUCKNOW AT KAISER-BAGH, ON JANUARY 18, 1884.

GENTLEMEN,

In rising to acknowledge and thank you for the address with which you have just honoured me, I must express my extreme surprise and gratification at finding myself thus greeted in this famous city of Lucknow, the chief seat of your religious learning, and by men who are the acknowledged heads respectively of the *Sunni* and the *Shia* communities, the learned and pious sheikhs so justly venerated by you. I say I am surprised, because when I came to India I thought little of obtaining any such reception. I hoped that, perhaps, here and there, a few of your community might understand the sympathy I feel for you and the depth of my good-will; but it was altogether beyond my expectation that these should meet with public recognition.

Since, however, you have been pleased thus to honour me and to ask an expression of my views regarding your welfare, I will endeavour to comply in what words the terms of your address may be able to suggest to me.

And, first, let me congratulate you on the sentiments your address contains of loyal adhesion to the form of government under which it has been the will of Providence to place you. They seem to echo words I heard only yesterday from the lips of one of your number, who through his family had been especially concerned with the sad events of thirty years ago, and who had been, in fact, one of the chief sufferers by them. We were driving through the "Residency"

grounds, and, pointing to the ruins, after admiring their beauty, he exclaimed, "It is a pity all the same they should be left standing. *We*, the Mohammedans, have learned to forget our wrongs and the history of our past grandeur. Why should not you too forget? These ruins only perpetuate memories which would be better forgotten between us."

I say I am glad to hear from you these words of loyalty to the British Government, for it is my strong opinion that in accepting loyally the new conditions of your life lie all your best hopes for the future. It gives me courage, too, to speak to you of things more important to you than the past history of your ancient splendour. I mean your progress in the arts of peace, and your need of education; and, in truth, it is no small matter of hope that you are able to appreciate the advantages of liberty you possess, in thus assembling to-day to discuss the future hopes of your community, and that you should be willing to listen to a stranger on matters so deeply concerning you.

That you need some new departure, you would seem to admit; and to me, as one considering your position from the outside, it appears that you need it urgently. As I understand the future of India, every year will see you in more need of active exertion, if you are to hold your place with the other communities of the Empire. Every year will see more and more power placed in native, as contrasted with English, hands; and I look to the day as not very far distant when all the civil administration will revert to them. I see you, therefore, on the eve of a new epoch in Indian history, and I recognize your position in it as a most precarious one, if you do not bestir yourselves in time and take those measures which are being taken by your rivals to better their condition. Travelling through India, I have noticed everywhere the activity of Hindus, Parsis, and Christians. But why is there so little among yourselves?

These are strengthening themselves everywhere by education. They are training themselves to run in the intellectual

race against you, and you are doing little. I urge it, then, before you that you should consider the matter seriously as one in which you are all vitally interested. If you do not prepare yourselves with the rest, you will be left behind; and it will be then as useless for you to lament your lost opportunities, as it have been hitherto to lament your political misfortunes. It would seem, however, that you do acknowledge the necessity, and that you do desire this education of which I have spoken, and that it is rather from a doubt as to the means of lawfully obtaining it than from any apathy that you are still inactive. I understand that there are among you two opinions. According to the one, Mohammedans should look for their intellectual improvement in a closer assimilation of their ideas and manners to those of Europe. According to the other, they cannot do this without risking what is of more importance still—their religious faith. Now, in a choice between the alternatives, of worldly ignorance and loss of faith, I avow plainly that I hold the former to be the lesser evil; and I could not, in giving advice to Mohammedans about Mohammedan education, say otherwise than that their first consideration of all must be the preservation of their faith. I have often been asked about the advantage to Mohammedans of an English education in England, and I have not been able to say that I approved it. You must not misunderstand me. As an Englishman, and one who has received a fairly good European education, I know well its superiority over any that can be obtained in India. But I have seen to what it tends, and it certainly does not tend to an increase of religious faith. The tendency, I grieve to say it, of all our modern thought in Europe is in the direction of disbelief, even disbelief in God; and I would not, for any consideration of worldly advantage, see you risk for yourselves or for your children this misfortune. I believe that your faith in God is the one priceless inheritance to which you must above all things cling. I do not, therefore, ask you to send your children to receive their education in England; I do not recommend it.

Neither am I without sympathy in the suspicions with which you regard the State education in this country. Although there may be no positively irreligious tendency in any of these establishments, they are for the most part without solid religious basis ; and in all of them there are teachers who are not of your faith. If I am rightly informed, the Indian University contains no single Mohammedan professor ; while even the Hooghly College and the Calcutta Madrassa all have Englishmen as principals, and English or Hindu teachers for many branches of knowledge. Now, I believe there is no country in the world where the position and influence of a teacher with his pupils is so great, so sacred, as in India. I believe it is a saying with you that, next to a child's natural father, his teacher holds the place of parent. How, then, can a Christian or a Hindu be a suitable guide for Mohammedan youth ? I say, I sympathize with your doubts and your distrust as to most of the existing places of education for your sons. At the same time the need of education presses sorely, and will not cease to press.

What, then, can you do ? How can you reconcile the necessity of secular knowledge with the necessities of your faith ? On this point I believe you may take a lesson from what has been done in England by a community holding a position not altogether unlike your own in India. The Roman Catholics of England are like you in a minority, and are like you poor. But fifty years ago they made a vigorous effort to improve their condition, and, finding themselves exactly like you in the necessity of reconciling the advantage of education with the advantage of their creed, they boldly resolved to found colleges and a university which should have a purely religious basis and yet give their children sufficient secular instruction. At first the education received in these establishments was decidedly inferior to that given in the public schools ; but their sons preserved their faith, and gradually they have succeeded in raising the standard of the secular instruction too, until at the present day it is little, if anything, inferior to any in the kingdom. From a

poor and ill-educated, the Roman Catholics of England have become a well-educated and prosperous body, increasing daily in numbers and daily in importance. I appeal to you to follow their example. Do as they have done. Regard this matter as a matter of religion, and you will succeed as they succeeded. I know that, though the mass of the Mohammedans in India may be poor, there are among you many who are rich. Let them give in the name of God and for the advantage of their faith, and found with their wealth a great memorial of their zeal. I ask them to found a Mohammedan University.

My idea of the functions of a university for you is this. It should, in the first place, be the centre of religious thought for all India. It should provide from among its graduates teachers of sound religious learning for the whole country, giving thus an impulse to religion in the remotest towns. Nor should these be without other learning. At a university such as I would have you found, all useful sciences and all branches of solid learning should find a place. At the present day I feel sure there is not one of you who fears any branch of knowledge as such, or who believes that the acquisition of a language or a science can in itself prove injurious to his faith. I look, therefore, to see every kind of science taught, as it shall become possible to find competent Mohammedans to act as professors in it, and all those languages which have a practical value in India; English especially should form the medium of such studies as are a preparation for public employment. In this way knowledge of a useful sort will be sent out, as well as religious knowledge, throughout India, and a new impetus be given to the whole community.

Nor must you suppose that there is anything novel or unheard of by Mohammedans in the scheme of such a university. The actual thing existed in its most perfect form centuries ago at Cairo. In the first age of Islam the Azhar University was founded for this very purpose, and to many generations of Moslems gave the best education,

secular as well as religious, then known in the world. The Azhar was not only the great religious centre of faith, but it was also an academy of all the sciences. And as long as these were taught to Mohammedans, Mohammedans were prosperous. It was only at a later date that secular knowledge and the practical arts of life ceased to be taught in the schools.

And this leads me to another consideration connected with your welfare, and to which I would engage your earnest attention. I see that there is among you a disinclination to engage in those professions and occupations by which wealth is made. You belong to two classes only : those who are rich enough to live in idleness, and those who are so poor that they must work for daily wages. Surely this is not a healthy state of things, and surely it is not enjoined on you by any precept of your religion to abstain from trade. On the contrary, I believe I am right in saying that in those early days of Islam, of which I have just been speaking, every Mohammedan was a trader, just as every Arab is a trader to-day. Do you suppose that it was only by the sword that Islam was spread by its first preachers? Was it at the head of armies that it came first to India? No ; you know well that it was brought in the ships of those Arabian merchants who preached their faith, but did not neglect at the same time to sell their wares. This was the old Mohammedan tradition, and the tradition that made you a strong nation.

A few weeks ago I was delighted to find in Ceylon the descendants of those first converts preserving still the wholesome doctrine of trade, and to find them prospering. The Mohammedans of Ceylon are the most thriving of all the communities in the island. They are not ashamed to buy and sell, and they are consequently rich and respected, and they are not dependent either on Government employment or service of any kind for their maintenance. I would see the arts of commerce followed by you once more, and a professor of those arts appointed in your university.

Let each of you, then, come forward to help in this pious work. Your ancestors out of their wealth built mosques and fountains and houses of public entertainment for travellers, and inscribed on them their names and the record of how the money had been given in God's service. Do the same thing now ; come forward generously. Endow professorships and studentships, which men will call after you, and thus hand down your names to future generations as the benefactors of their religion. Islam never stood in greater need than now of every good man's help. I beg you, I entreat you, I implore you, unite in this noble purpose, and found a lasting memorial of your zeal in the form which I have proposed. Already in other cities of the Empire which I have visited, I have received assurances from men of wealth and position of their willingness to take the matter in hand. Do not be behind them here. I propose that you should form committees in each town for the purpose of signifying approval and collecting subscriptions. The need is urgent, and your action too should be urgent.

In conclusion, let me invoke the blessing of God upon you. May He give courage to those of you who are weak ! May He enlighten those of you who are blind ! May He relieve the poor and comfort the desponding ; and, above all, may He inspire the rich to be generous of their wealth and to show their zeal in the cause of their religion !

THE MOHAMMEDAN UNIVERSITY.

Delhi, January 24, 1884.

To his Highness the Nizam of the Deccan, etc., etc., etc.
SIR,

I have the honour, in accordance with my promise, to send your Highness a draft scheme of the proposed university, which I believe will meet the views of a majority of the influential Mohammedans of Calcutta and Northern India, and I trust that it may equally be found acceptable to your Highness and receive your sanction.

If I can be of any further use in this matter, I beg you to command me ; but I feel that the future of the scheme, which has already received wide approval, lies now mainly with your Highness, and I will only record my further promise here that, should it take an active shape, I will gladly contribute a sum of thirty thousand rupees, for the endowment of a first professorship according to the terms proposed. I have the honour to be, sir,

Your Highness' most obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

SCHEME FOR A UNIVERSITY (AT HYDERABAD).

The lamentable decline, during the last forty years, of the Mohammedan community of India in wealth and social importance, while at the same time it has been numerically an ever-increasing body, makes it a matter of anxious consideration with those who love their religion to consider by what means best to avert the danger attending such a condition of things, and to restore prosperity to the community and its activity as a living and beneficial influence in the progress of the Empire.

It is acknowledged that the evil has been principally brought about by the changed condition of the country. From a ruling and favoured race, the Mohammedan community has become only one of many bodies unfavoured by the State ; and the fall from their high station was at the time accompanied by a corresponding collapse of energy ; while, later, accidental circumstances, such as the change of the official language from Persian and Urdu to English, still further aggravated their misfortunes.

These, though they may regret them, the Mohammedans now know that it is useless to complain of. They have ceased to look for any reversal of the political settlement of India as a British province ; and accepting the fact, they are fully aware that a new departure is necessary for them in correspondence with their new circumstances. Nor is this conviction lessened by the consideration that it would seem to be the tendency of the age to put every year more and more administrative power back into native hands, so that in the future there may be expected to be an ever-increasing competition between the various sections of Indian society for advantage under the imperial rule.

Again, it is no less acknowledged that, in the modern conditions of Indian life, that which principally conduces to the advantage of each community is its superiority in education. The force of natural character is no longer a sufficient element of success, and acquired intelligence is daily asserting itself more strongly as the condition of all participation in public life. Instruction in the arts and sciences of the Western world is at the present day an absolute necessity for high success ; and even in the lower walks of life a certain knowledge of these things has become desirable for all perhaps but the lowest class bound to agricultural labour. Certainly no large community, such as is the Mohammedan in India, could hope to hold its own without a general increase of learning ; and it is no longer contended by any section of the community that secular knowledge can be dispensed with, or that it is, if rightly directed, at all opposed to the best interests of religion.

On the other hand, it is equally certain that the vast majority of those who profess the faith of Islam look upon that faith as the most precious inheritance bequeathed them by their fathers, and decline to put it in peril for the sake of any worldly advantage. They consider that, in seeking the general good of a Mohammedan community, the first and absolute essential to be considered is the good of the Mohammedan religion ; and this is their first thought, too, when the practical question of individual education comes before them. All Mohammedan fathers are desirous that, before everything else, their sons should inherit their own gift of faith in the one true God and the teaching of His apostle.

Thus, then, it happens that, while recognizing fully the necessity there is for worldly knowledge, the mass of respectable Mohammedans have held back, and still hold back, from the purely secular education afforded in Government schools and colleges to Hindus and Christians with themselves. They look with suspicion on the teaching, and with more than suspicion on the teachers. They refuse to believe that any education can be a sound one which is without a religious basis. They see that neither history nor philosophy nor Western literature can be taught by unbelievers in the divine mission of their Prophet without serious risk of undermining their pupils' faith ; and they find no institution in India in which these necessary branches of human learning are taught to Mohammedans wholly by Mohammedans. Neither the Indian University, nor the Calcutta Madraseh, nor the Hooghly College, nor even the College of Aligarh entirely fulfil this condition. In the Indian University there is at the present moment no single Mohammedan professor. At the Madraseh, the president and many of the professors are Englishmen ; and at Aligarh also the principal is an Englishman, and there are English and Hindu teachers. In none of them is there the certainty that religious influence other than Mohammedan shall not be brought to bear upon the students.

Lastly—and this is the most important consideration of

all to the leaders of the Mohammedan community of India—they find in all the Empire, no central school of religious thought such as is to be found in other Mohammedan lands. Although their population is the largest of any now existing in the world, they are without a recognized seat of learning which can claim for them to be the fountain head of orthodox opinion. They have no central body of Ulema, whose teaching and discussion should serve to keep alive the intellectual activity of the religious teachers and so give its tone to the whole mass. They feel this to be the most serious want of all of their situation in presence of the growing intelligence of other religious bodies around them.

In view of all these circumstances, the following resolutions have, therefore, been suggested, and are now put before the Mohammedan community at large :—

1. That in each town a Provincial Committee shall be formed, to consider where and under what conditions it will be best to found an educational establishment on a large scale, which shall equally satisfy the religious and the secular wants of the community ; and to raise subscriptions for that purpose.

2. That, this being done, a Central Committee shall be convened, the same to be composed of one delegate from each of the Provincial Committees, in order finally to decide the questions raised in the Provincial Committees.

3. That, if possible, his Highness the Nizam of the Deccan be asked to become the patron of a Central Establishment, as being the most powerful Mohammedan prince now reigning in India, and that a humble petition be addressed to his Highness in that sense. The following suggestions also are made :—

1. That the educational establishment should take the form of a university, to be called the Deccan (?) University, empowered to grant degrees in religion and in secular knowledge, and to appoint professors in both branches of learning for such as shall repair to its metropolis (say Hyderabad) for their education. It is hoped that his Highness

the Nizam may be pleased to grant a building to serve as university hall and lecture-rooms.

2. That, under the university, each province of the Indian Empire, or, if funds suffice, each great city, should erect or purchase at its own cost a building for its own students in the metropolis, the same to be called the college of that province or city, at which lodging (not board or furniture) should be provided at nominal rates to the students. These colleges should be the property of the provinces or cities erecting them, and should be managed by provincial or city trustees appointed by themselves in such manner (subject to the general laws of the university) as they shall themselves think most desirable. Thus each province or city would practically pay for and manage its own education.

3. That an appeal be made to the Mohammedan princes, noblemen, talukdars, zemindars, and rich merchants to found professorships for the university, the same to bear the name of their founders, and to be vested as religious endowments in the hands of university trustees, the duty of the professors being to give gratuitous public lectures to all students of the university. A donation of Rs.30,000 shall be considered equivalent to founding a professorship, and shall entitle the donor to have his name perpetually connected with it—this, although it may be hereafter considered necessary to increase the provision out of university funds. Such donors should moreover be granted the title of "Founders" of the university, and should form its special council.

4. That a similar appeal be made to poorer men to found scholarships under the like conditions, except that Rs.10,000 should be the sum entitling the donor to perpetual remembrance—the said scholarships to be granted in the form of monthly stipends of thirty rupees to such students as, having graduated in religious and secular knowledge in the university, may be chosen by special competition, on the condition that they shall act as schoolmasters in

provincial towns and districts. The object of this provision will be to spread religious and secular education throughout the country. The founder of three scholarships to have the same privilege and title as the founder of a professorship.

5. That special provision be made in the scheme for the religious needs of the Shia as well as of the Sunni communities.

6. That his Highness the Nizam be prayed to grant a perpetual charter regulating the university according to the rules usual in such institutions.

7. That a memorial be at the same time addressed to his Excellency the Viceroy of India, stating the objects of the university, and humbly praying the countenance of the Imperial Government for the scheme.

Hyderabad Deccan, February 13, 1884.

MY DEAR MR. BLUNT,

I am desired by his Highness to inform you, in reply to your letter of the 24th of January, enclosing a memo. embodying a scheme for the formation of a Mohammedian University, that his Highness cordially approves of your suggestions, and will give every support in his power to any attempt that may be made to carry them out. His Highness had the honour of holding a conversation with his Excellency the Viceroy during his short sojourn here, in the course of which he understood that his Excellency was prepared to countenance and support the scheme.

I am to say that his Highness regards the scheme as one calculated immensely to advance the cause of Mohammedan progress, and that he will be glad if Hyderabad is given the honour, by preference, of becoming the centre of the movement. As, however, the scheme has originated with you, and you have taken the trouble of ascertaining the views of the leading Mohammedans in all parts of India, his Highness would have wished that you had prolonged your stay in this country so as to see it carried out. In any case,

if your other engagements give you time to pay another visit to Hyderabad, his Highness will be gratified to have your assistance in the matter. His Highness is glad to say that his Excellency the Viceroy has promised him his.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,

(Signed) SALAR JUNG.

NAMES OF THE HINDU PARSI AND MO-HAMMEDAN GENTLEMEN OF BOMBAY PRESENT AT THE COMMERCIAL MEETING, TO RECEIVE MR. WILFRID BLUNT, FEBRUARY, 1884.

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